

V O K S

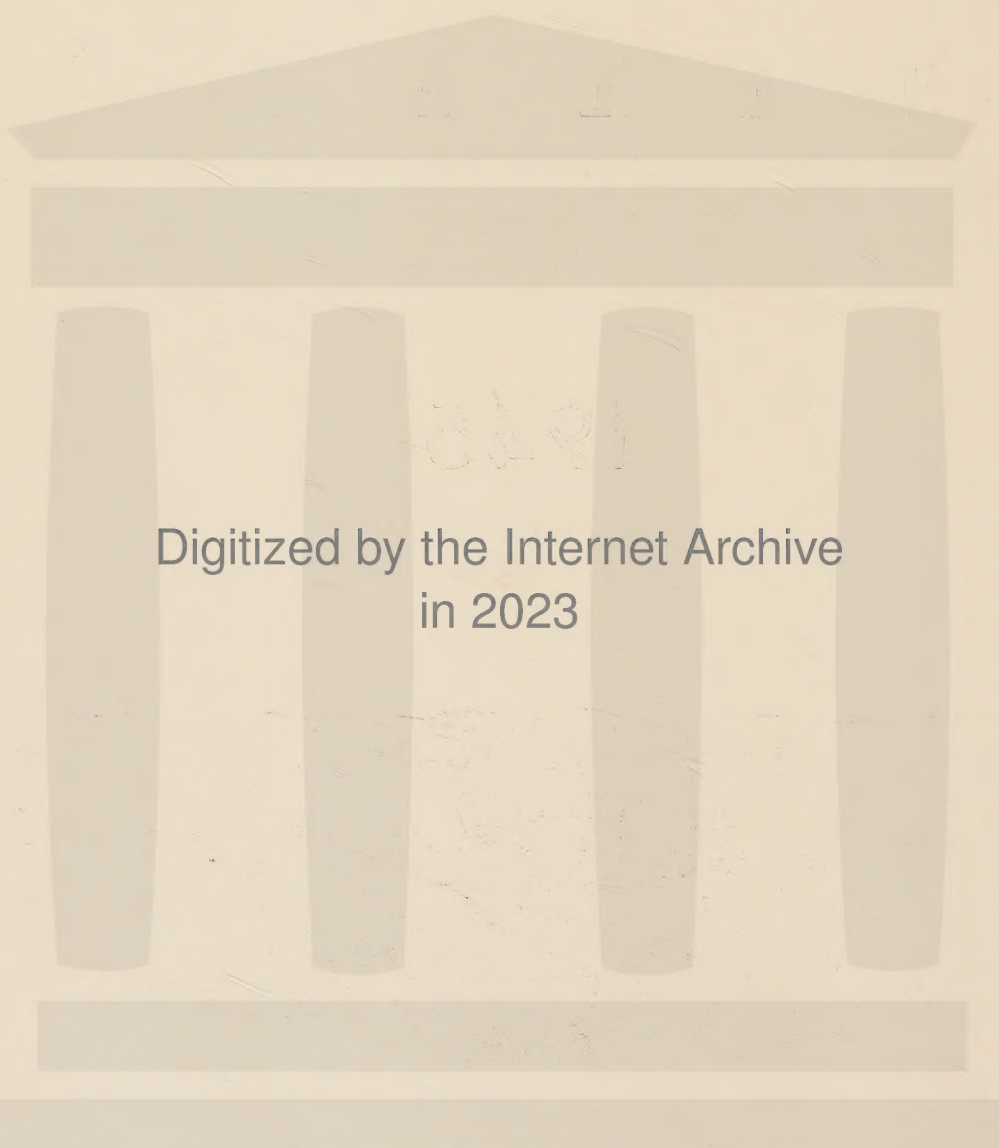
B U L L E T I N

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V O K S

B U L L E T I N



No. 11/12

U. S. S. R. S O C I E T Y F O R C U L T U R A L
R E L A T I O N S W I T H F O R E I G N C O U N T R I E S

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DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES OF THE SOVIET ELECTION SYSTEM

DURING THE WAR the country was unable to hold an election campaign. This has become possible only now that the Patriotic War has been victoriously concluded.

The Soviet state has successfully surmounted all the untold difficulties of the war and has emerged victorious from the life-and-death conflict with German fascism and Japanese imperialism. The Soviet system proved to be "not only the best system for organizing the economic and cultural development of a country in the period of peaceful construction, but also the best system for mobilizing all the forces of the people to resist an enemy in wartime."¹

The October Revolution instituted the socialist system and created a state differing from all states hitherto existing.

What has the Soviet government given to the peoples of the U. S. S. R.? What have the peoples of the U. S. S. R. gained under the Soviet system? Although twenty-eight years is an appreciable time span in the life of an individual, it is very little in the life of a state, which develops at a much slower rate than an individual.

The cardinal and most decisive thing that the Soviet government has given to the people is that they are now masters of their own welfare. This applies to all the nationalities within the Union, from the largest to the smallest.

From the very first days of the October Revolution the Soviet government offered the working people "an opportunity of enjoying democratic rights and freedom such as never before existed, even in approximately the best and most democratic bourgeois republics" (Lenin).

The Soviets are elected by the people. They constitute the broadest representation of the

working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia.

In his work *On the Foundations of Leninism*, Stalin points out that the Soviets "are the *immediate* organizations of the masses themselves, i. e., they are *the most democratic* and therefore the most authoritative organizations of the masses, which facilitate to the utmost their participation in the work of building up the new state and its administration, and which bring into full play the revolutionary energy, initiative and creative abilities of the masses..." (J. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism, On the Foundations of Leninism*, p. 36, Eng. ed., 1943).

The Soviets of Working People's Deputies govern the Soviet Union through a huge number of representatives coming from the people and elected by the people. In the last elections 1,060,746 deputies were elected to the Rural Soviets in the U. S. S. R., 38,994 to the Town Soviets, 140,158 to the District Soviets, 151,822 to the City Soviets and the District Soviets in cities, 871 to the Area Soviets, 9,311 to the Regional and Territorial Soviets, 2,320 to the Supreme Soviets of the Autonomous Republics, 4,532 to the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics, and, finally, 1,338 to the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. Thus, 1,410,092 citizens of the Soviet Union participate in the administration of the state as elected representatives.

Direction of the whole life of a given district, city or village lies in the hands of the local Soviet. The Soviets have large monetary funds at their disposal, which are used for the construction of houses and cultural institutions, for the development of local industry, for the improvement of cities, villages, etc. Thus, in 1939 the republican and local budgets throughout the Soviet Union constituted a total of 38,664,000,000 rubles. The 1938 budget of the Moscow Soviet showed 1,974,700,000 rubles received and 1,973,300,000 rubles expended.

¹ J. Stalin. *On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union*. Speech delivered on the 26th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, p. 127.

In 1913 the budget of the Moscow City Administration showed 32,400,000 rubles received and 35,200,000 rubles expended.

The 1938 budget of the Moscow Region constituted 916,182,400 rubles in revenues and 900,952,200 rubles in expenditures.

The Soviet Union has given practical realization to consistent democracy for the first time in history. Our state not only proclaims the right of all citizens to participate in the administration of the state, but ensures this right. The composition of the highest organ of state authority in the U. S. S. R.—the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R.—vividly demonstrates this.

Among those elected to the Soviet of the Union of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R., in 1937, 257 were workers, 134 peasants, 178 intellectuals. Of the 574 deputies to the Soviet of Nationalities, 223 were workers, 203 peasants, 148 intellectuals. Among the deputies elected to both chambers, 189 were women. More than fifty of the nationalities inhabiting our country are represented in the Soviet of Nationalities.

The highest organ of state authority—the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R.—really expresses the interests of the people. Men and women who themselves spring from the people direct all spheres of state, economic and cultural life in the Soviet Union.

In countries that have a different system of state authority, the ruling circles thrust the broad masses of the working people aside from the election of this authority and from participation in it: parliaments and other “representative” institutions express and protect only the interests of the ruling minority. Thus, in the Third State Duma of tsarist Russia there were only 11 workers and artisans for every 439 deputies. In the French Chamber of Deputies in 1936 workers and employees constituted only 1.1% of the total composition of the Chamber.

The Soviet government alone ensures equality of rights to all the people. “In the U. S. S. R. . . . democracy is democracy for all the working people, i. e., *democracy for all*.” (J. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism, On the Draft Constitution of the U. S. S. R.*, p. 579, Eng. ed., 1943).

*

The Soviet Constitution—the fundamental law of the land—enforces social regulations

that are beneficial to the working people. Not only does it proclaim the rights of Soviet citizens; it also ensures them in practice. It is this that constitutes its fundamental distinction from the constitutions of other countries.

The right to work is one of the greatest gains of the October revolution and is registered in Article 118 of the Constitution of the U. S. S. R.

This right is ensured by the socialist, planned organization of national economy. Thanks to this system of economy, there is not and cannot be any unemployment in the U. S. S. R. Every citizen can always find employment. This is the great advantage of the Soviet system. It is especially apparent today when millions of men and women are returning to peaceful labour from the army. Work in industry and agriculture is ensured for all those who are demobilized from the Red Army.

Besides the right to work, the Soviet Constitution also guarantees the right to rest to all citizens of the U. S. S. R. This right is ensured by the fact that the shortest working day in the world has been established in our country, by the fact that besides free days, annual paid vacations have been instituted for all workers and employees, and by the fact that the working people have been provided with the opportunity of resting in sanatoria and rest homes. In 1940, for instance, 540,000 workers and employees were accommodated in sanatoria, rest homes and other medical institutions, approximately 2,400,000 in two-week rest homes, and 1,600,000 in one-day rest homes.

Citizens of the U. S. S. R. have the right to maintenance in old age, as well as in case of sickness and in case of loss of the capacity to work. This right is ensured by the extensive development of social insurance of workers and employees at state expense, free medical service for the working people and the provision of a wide network of health resorts for the use of the working people. The expenditures of the Soviet state for social insurance are increasing from year to year. During the Second Five-Year Plan these expenditures increased more than threefold in comparison with the First Five-Year Plan period and constituted 32,500,000,000 rubles. The state pays out huge sums in pensions to invalids of the Patriotic War, and also in old age and disability pensions.

The Soviet Constitution guarantees all citizens of the U. S. S. R. the right to education.

This right is ensured by universal, compulsory elementary education and by free education in the elementary and secondary (seven-year) schools. In the last three grades of secondary (ten-year) schools, in special secondary schools and in institutions of higher learning the state takes upon itself the main burden of expenditures for education, while the citizens themselves pay only a small part of it. Pensioned invalids and their children, children brought up in children's homes, invalids of the Patriotic War and their children, the children of servicemen and mothers who perished in action, and also children of pensioned senior officers are released from payment of tuition fees. Those students of universities and technical colleges who distinguish themselves in their studies receive state scholarships.

Vocational training is free of charge everywhere. Not only is tuition in trade schools, railway schools and factory apprenticeship schools free of charge, but the state also takes upon itself the full maintenance of the pupils. The pupils of Suvorov military schools and special vocational schools for the children of servicemen, of guerilla fighters, and of parents who perished during the war are also educated and maintained free of charge. Free vocational, technical and agronomic training is offered in the factories, on state farms, collective farms, at machine and tractor stations. Evening schools are opened in cities and villages for young workers and farmers to enable them to acquire a secondary education while working.

The total number of children, juveniles and adults who attended schools and various courses in the school year of 1938-1939 constituted approximately 48,000,000, i. e., every third person in the country.

The universities and colleges had an enrollment of 620,000 students in 1939-1940. In 1945 the universities and colleges in the U. S. S. R. were attended by approximately 570,000 students.

The Soviet state is interested in promoting the development of political and social activity among the masses of the working people. Freedom of speech and the press, freedom of assembly and the holding of mass meetings, freedom of street processions and demonstrations are ensured in the U. S. S. R., as stipulated by the Constitution, by placing at the disposal of the working people and their organizations printing presses, supplies of

paper, public buildings, the streets, communications facilities and other material requisites for the exercise of these rights. Whereas only 859 newspapers with a total circulation of 2,700,000 copies were published in Russia in 1913, 8,550 newspapers with a total circulation amounting to 37,500,000 were published in 1938.

The Soviet government put an end to the age-old gap between the rights and duties of citizens. All citizens of the U. S. S. R. are working people who enjoy equal rights and who are working for their own welfare, for themselves. For this reason the duties imposed upon Soviet citizens by the Constitution are inseparable from their rights.

To abide by the Constitution and work conscientiously are duties of all citizens of the U. S. S. R. The defence of the country is the direct responsibility of every Soviet citizen. In the war with German fascism Soviet people showed how they fulfil this honourable duty.

The consistent democracy of the Soviet social system lies in the fact that it has made genuine equality of rights among nations a real thing. In our country all citizens enjoy equal rights and freedom, irrespective of their nationality or race. The equality of all the peoples of the U. S. S. R. finds vivid expression in the structure of the higher organs of state authority. The Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. consists of two equal chambers: the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, each of which is invested with equal legislative powers. The Soviet of Nationalities is elected by citizens according to Union and Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions and national areas. Every Union Republic, irrespective of the size of its territory or its population, sends 25 deputies to the Soviet of Nationalities; every Autonomous Republic—11 deputies, every Autonomous Region—5 deputies, every national area—1 deputy.

The advantages of Soviet democracy are especially evinced in the complete equality of rights enjoyed by women in the U. S. S. R. In many countries women are deprived of the right to vote. They cannot hold state posts, participate in public affairs, attend universities and colleges, etc. The labour of women is much lower paid than the labour of men. In England the trade unions have to this day been unable to win equal pay for the labour of women.

In the U. S. S. R. women enjoy equal rights with men in all spheres of state, economic, cultural, social and political life.

*

The Soviet electoral system is the most democratic of all existing electoral systems.

All citizens of the Soviet Union who have reached the age of eighteen, irrespective of race or nationality, religion, educational and residential qualifications, social origin, property status or past activities, have the right to vote in the elections of deputies to all the organs of state authority. Only the insane and those persons who have been convicted by a court of law and whose sentences include deprivation of electoral rights, are deprived of electoral rights. The election regulations also stipulate that only persons who have reached twenty-three years of age and over may be elected deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. This, however, does not imply that electoral rights are made passive for any category of citizens. It is simply a recognition of the fact that the administration of so colossal a country as the U. S. S. R. requires that mature and experienced people stand at its head.

Certain amendments to the procedure for nominating candidates to the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. have been introduced. Whereas the election regulations of 1937 provided that peasants could nominate their deputies only at collective-farm meetings, the 1945 *Regulations* make a point of the right of peasants to nominate candidates from their villages and volosts. This gives peasants who are not members of collective farms the opportunity to take part in the nomination of candidates to the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. independently, without joining in the meetings of the collective farmers. This amendment indubitably contributes to the further democratization of the Soviet system.

Election areas for elections to the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities are mapped out so as to provide an approximately equal number of deputies for both chambers. This again emphasizes the equality of the two chambers. On 16 October, 1945, in conformity with Article 26 of *Regulations on Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R.*, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. mapped out election

areas for elections to the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

In 1937 there were 569 election areas for elections to the Soviet of the Union and 574 for elections to the Soviet of Nationalities. For the forthcoming elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. has formed 656 election areas for elections to the Soviet of the Union and 631 for elections to the Soviet of Nationalities, i. e., a total of 1,287 areas, or 144 more than in 1937.

The above figures do not include the special election areas designated in conformity with the decree of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. of 14 October, 1945 *On the Participation of Servicemen, Units and Formations of the Red Army and Navy Stationed Beyond the Frontiers of the U. S. S. R. in the Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R.*

Soviet servicemen abroad participate in the elections according to special electoral areas. These areas are formed in the units and formations of the Army and Navy on the basis of 100,000 electors for each area. Each area for elections to the Soviet of the Union and each area for elections to the Soviet of Nationalities elects one deputy. In this manner servicemen abroad will elect deputies to both chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R.

Servicemen stationed on the territory of the U. S. S. R. will take part in the elections according to individual electoral sectors which enter into the electoral area formed in the locality where the unit or military formation is stationed.

The *Election Regulations* of 1945 ensure even fuller participation of Soviet citizens in the voting than did the *Regulations* of 1937. In 1937 the electoral sectors were formed on ships at sea only if no less than fifty electors were on board. Now this figure has been reduced to twenty-five. This gives the crews and passengers of small vessels the opportunity of participating in the elections. The electoral law of 1945 also provides for the formation of electoral sectors on longdistance passenger trains, so that those who may happen to be travelling on such trains on election day may also vote.

The Soviet Constitution establishes equal electoral rights for all citizens. Each citizen has one vote. All citizens participate in elec-

tions on an equal footing (Article 136 of the Constitution).

In some countries, as, for instance, in England and Belgium, employers are entered on the lists of voters several times: according to their place of residence and according to the location of their enterprises. In this manner they have not one, but two or even three votes.

According to the Soviet Constitution elections to all Soviets of Working People's Deputies are direct. The Constitution thus establishes the closest and most immediate ties between the electors and their deputies, between all organs of Soviet authority and the masses of the working people.

Elections to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies are held by secret ballot. The secret

ballot ensures absolutely free and democratic elections.

The right to the secret ballot was established in order to "give Soviet people absolute freedom to vote for those whom they wish to elect, whom they trust to secure their interests" (J. Stalin).

The Soviet electoral law ensures absolute secrecy of the ballot in the elections to the Supreme Soviet. The provision of printed ballots and an isolated room for voting guarantees secrecy. By personally dropping his ballot into a sealed ballot box, the elector deprives all other people of the possibility of learning for whom he has cast his vote.

Genuine secrecy of the ballot is thus made a real fact.



Group of Red Army men who participated in Berlin battles

SOVIET SOLICITUDE FOR THE DEMOBILISED

By I. Verov

THE LAW providing for the demobilisation of Red Army men and officers reflects the solicitude for the individual which forms the basis of all legislature in the Soviet Union.

According to this law the government provides food and transportation until the demobilised reach home, furnishes them with a complete outfit of clothing and footwear, and pays a large monetary remuneration in order to enable anyone leaving the army to enjoy a month's vacation. The new law charges the local government organs with providing employment to demobilised servicemen within a month of their arrival home, taking into account the experience and speciality acquired in the Red Army. The job and

payment must not be inferior to that before induction into the army. Local organs are also obliged to provide living quarters and fuel to demobilised returning to the city; farming implements and household furnishings to demobilised peasants. Local Soviets are charged with setting apart timber tracts for the felling of building-timber free of charge and with granting long-term loans to demobilised servicemen for building or repairing homes.

Railway employees have exerted every effort to provide prompt and comfortable transportation for demobilised Red Army men. All express and local passenger trains have two cars reserved for Red Army officers,



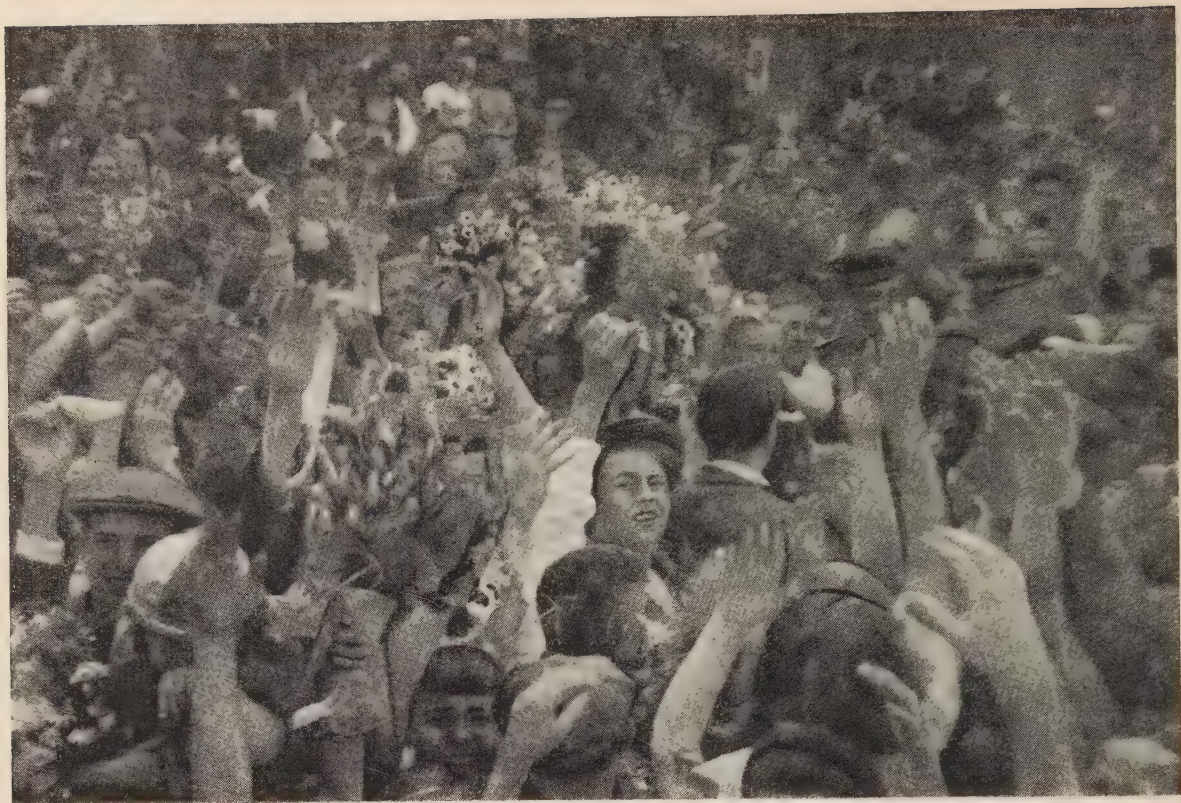
First trainload of demobilised returns from Berlin

sergeants and privates. In many cases whole trains of comfortably equipped cars for the demobilised have been made up by workers of car depots in their spare time. All cars designated for the demobilised have been thoroughly overhauled. Hospital trains have also been put at the disposal of the demobilised. All trains are driven by the best Stakhanovite locomotive engineers. Dining cars are attached to a number of the trains. Special dining rooms have been opened at railway stations to serve the demobilised travelling on trains without dining cars. Stations and platforms all along the route of these trains have been decorated in honour of the demobilised officers and soldiers. The meetings at these stations turn into stirring demonstrations of the unity of the Soviet people and their armed forces. At each large station a delegation of collective farmers, workers and professional people greets the returning soldiers. According to the old Russian custom they present them with bread and salt, flowers and fruit.

Wives of railway employees prepare refreshments and dinner and see that the demobilised are well fed at every stop en route. Responsible railway officials are on duty at all the large stations to meet incoming trains with demobilised men. It is their duty to render every possible assistance and to see that there are no delays in servicing these trains.

Refreshment rooms, restaurants, dining rooms, and other facilities have been enlarged to cope with the increased number of passengers and in each case special tables have been reserved for the demobilised. Increased medical service has also been provided at all railway stations. Special hostels for the demobilised have been opened at large railway junctions.

There are libraries at most railway stations. Newspapers are posted at all the stations and loudspeakers have been installed in the waiting rooms. Concerts and moving pictures are given to entertain the demobilised men at the railway stations.



Leningrad welcomes returning heroes

A new hotel for officers and rest rooms for sergeants and privates have been opened at the Yaroslavl Station in Moscow. Legal consultation bureaus and information desks offer service in all the Leningrad railway stations.

Special shops have been opened where men may have shoes and clothing repaired, have their pictures taken, purchase miscellaneous articles, etc.

Local Soviets have exerted much effort on preparing the homecoming of demobilised officers and soldiers. It will suffice to say that more than twenty thousand Moscow apartments belonging to Red Army men scheduled to be demobilised were visited by special committees whose purpose was to assign painters, plasterers, carpenters and roofers to make necessary repairs. More than three thousand such apartments were renovated during the month of July.

Vyborg District in Leningrad fitted out a model dormitory for two hundred and fifty persons who had no living quarters of their own. A dormitory for three hundred and fifty

persons has been opened in Minsk and three in Kiev, serving a total of one thousand persons.

On 16 July Moscow met the first groups of demobilised returning to the capital. Thousands of people flocked to the railway stations carrying banners, posters and flowers. Everyone was excited, friendships were struck up on the spot. Moscow was like one big family meeting its dear ones—fathers, husbands and brothers. The trains arrived exactly on the minute. Sunburned, tanned faces looked out of the windows and almost every returning soldier wore battle decorations on his chest. Everywhere indescribable happiness and joy were to be seen.

Anna Kovalenko, a worker at the Krasnoholmsk Factory, met her husband and brother whom she had not seen for four years. Captain of the Guards Serge Efimov was met by his mother, sister and small son. The youngest did not recognize his father at first, but later he refused to let him out of sight.



Demobilised soldiers of the Third Ukrainian Front returning to native villages along the Dnieper

A meeting was held on the square in front of the station. Thousands of happy and excited people took part in this meeting. Nikolai Shabelin, a tool mechanic who served in the artillery forces during the war, mounted the speakers' platform. He had seen action at Vitebsk, Dvinsk, and Siauliai and wears eight decorations. He is now returning to his factory and his pre-war profession.

Dozens of busses and trolley-busses stood ready on the square to take the returning heroes and their families to their homes. All the buildings on the streets leading to the stations were festively decorated and flags hung from the balconies. A train arrived at the Byelorussian Station carrying returning heroes from the German capital. It bore a large red banner with the inscription "We come from Berlin."

The demobilised servicemen exchange their army documents for civilian passports and ration cards at the district military offices.

The whole country opened its arms to the returning heroes. The entire Soviet people

came out to meet their loyal defenders. The Dukat Tobacco Factory put out a special deluxe brand of cigarettes called *Greetings to the Victors* in honour of the demobilised, while the Krasny Oktyabr Confectionery Factory came out with a new brand of chocolate named *Victory*.

The lathes at which demobilised servicemen will work at plants and factories have been polished and oiled until they shine.

The first and primary task is to provide the demobilised with employment. There is no unemployment in the U. S. S. R. The Soviet system with its planned socialist economy ensures everyone an opportunity to make the most of his strength and ability in the profession he chooses. Each person is confident of the morrow and looks at the future with calm assurance. The law passed on 23 June states that demobilised servicemen must be provided with employment not inferior to that held before induction into the army. During the years spent at the front many officers and soldiers acquired new



Alexei Kashulkin, worker of a Tula machine-building factory, celebrates his home-coming with family and friends

professions. The employment provided them after demobilisation must take this experience into consideration.

However, some of the demobilised are in need of industrial training to help them raise their qualifications. Almost all factories and plants have organised special courses for such persons where the best engineers and foremen give instruction in various professions. Each demobilised person may choose the job he likes best from among those offered him. It will suffice to say that in Moscow alone some sixty thousand requests were turned in by factories and offices for workers of all professions and specialities. This goes to show what a wide choice the demobilised Red Army men have when they return home.

It is not a matter of employment alone, however. Most of the demobilised have been away from their homes for several years, the families of many of them were evacuated and their homes have not been repaired since the war began. Some are returning to districts which were occupied by the Germans and

subjected to barbarous destruction. The law on demobilisation obliges the All Union Bank for Financing Housing Construction to grant loans to former servicemen for building and repairing their homes. These loans may range from five to ten thousand rubles and are subject to payment in periods ranging from five to ten years. These loans are granted through the organisation where the demobilised serviceman enters employment.

The following incident is an example of the solicitude displayed toward demobilised servicemen: Col. Frolov, Military Commissar of the Zheleznodorozhnaya District in Moscow, had a talk with Mikhail Serdity, a demobilised sergeant, during which he asked about Serdity's family, their living quarters, what employment Serdity would prefer, etc. After questioning him, Frolov advised that he return to his former plant, the *Hammer and Sickle* where his job as shift foreman was waiting for him. Colonel Frolov gave Serdity a hearty handshake and thanked him for the loyal way he had performed his duty to his country.



Sergeant Zinaida Ivashenko rejoins her family in the Kuban. Zinaida served as a scout and a sniper, and has a record of picking off 57 Hitlerites and capturing 12. She wears the Order of Glory and two medals "For Valour"

Sergeant Matvey Blinov and Private Pavel Molchanov also had a talk with Col. Frolov. They both expressed a desire to return to work at the Kalinin Plant where they had been employed before the war.

A meeting of a group of demobilised servicemen with directors of the city's largest industrial installations and offices was recently held in Kiev. The men were told in detail about the damage done to the national economy by the German invaders and about the stupendous task of rehabilitation confronting the country. They were told how important the labour of each demobilised Red Army man was. After the talks by the plant and office directors, several brigades were formed among the demobilised servicemen for reconstruction work. Thirty men agreed to go to work at the Urkabel Plant and fifty at the Bolshevik Tool Engineering Plant.

Constantin Novikov began to work at the Stalin Automobile Plant in Moscow when he was only seventeen years old. He was a repair mechanic and worked first in the machine assembly shop and then in the factory testing shop. When the war began he joined the army but kept in touch with the Plant. He was interested in everything going on at the Plant and kept up a regular correspondence with the foremen and workers. He returned a few days ago and one of the first things he did was to visit the Plant. He is now a Captain of the Guards and holds the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. His old friends—mechanics, fitters, milling machine operators and welders—were all glad to see him. One of the women who has been working at the Plant for years hugged and kissed him. Novikov stopped in front of one of the lathes and recalled how he had himself installed that lathe just before the

war. In the four years since then he had fought at Moscow and Kursk, and advanced through Byelorussia, Poland and Germany. He has a record of forty downed German planes and wears five Government decorations. After a month's vacation Novikov expects to be back at his old Plant.

Mikhail Serov worked at the X Plant for ten years. He started as an ordinary fitter and worked up to the job of shift foreman. He was called up at the very beginning of the war, fought at Leningrad, in the Ukraine and in Byelorussia. He was one of the first to force the Dnieper and was awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. The very first day he returned home he went over to the Plant, where he used to work. He asked the foreman to let him try out his old lathe to see whether he had forgotten how to operate it. His fellow workers all remembered him at the Plant and permission was readily granted. He carefully examined the blueprints of the work he was to do, rolled up his sleeves and started to work. The others all stood around eagerly watching the returned hero at his old job. He went right ahead as though he had been working at his lathe for the past four years instead of at a heavy gun, calmly and confidently processing a detail of very involved configurations. He even started humming as he worked... When he finished, the shop superintendent examined the detail and passed it on from one worker to another. These experienced fitters could not detect a single flaw in it. They all pronounced it an excellent job.

Serov's visit to the Plant was the signal for a new wave of enthusiasm, and many workers turned out two and three hundred percent of their quotas that day.

Mikhail Serov plans to be back at his old job very soon.

Fedor Blokhin was head of the trade department in a district consumers' cooperative in Gorky Region before the war. He saw action in East Prussia, was decorated six times and awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. He has now returned home and is working as head of a large machine and tractor station.

Yakov Rybakov worked as a janitor in a small factory before the war. During his service in the army he became a qualified radio operator and after demobilisation he was given employment in his new profession



Sergeant Telyatnikov does his shopping in one of the special stores opened to serve demobilised Red Army men

at a large Moscow plant. He received a room in one of the Plant's new apartment houses and after a month's vacation will go to work.

Sergeant Major Ivan Tikhonov is fifty-one years old. He was a clerk before the war. When the war began he enlisted in the Army, served in the artillery, fought at Smolensk, Viazma and Tarnopol. He was wounded four times. He is now working at his pre-war job in a large office.

Medical Orderly Joseph Reshetov was director of a secondary school in Siberia before the war. He saw action on several fronts and fought in East Prussia. He has a record of removing eighty-four wounded with their guns from the battlefield. Decorated with two Orders, he has now been demobilised and is back in his school, doing the work he likes best.

Nikolai Khaleyev, a collective farmer from Kostroma Region, fought all the way from his native village to the port of Stettin. He was thrice wounded and thrice decorated for valorous services as an artilleryman. As soon as he returned home, he was elected chairman of his collective farm. At the general meeting of the farm he gave his solemn promise to fight for the harvest just as hard as he had fought on the battlefield.

Roman Dyakov fought his way to Bucharest and Budapest. He has a splendid record as a tank driver and now that he is back from the army he is working as a bus driver along the familiar streets of his native Moscow.

Such is a brief account of how the men and officers of the Red Army are returning to peaceful life.

LABOR RESERVES

By Alexander Grunt, M. A.

IN THE U. S. S. R. the nation's industry is supplied with labor in a planned and organized manner. In the course of three five-year plan periods Soviet industry obtained workers largely by signing contracts with collective farmers.

Thus, between 1931 and 1938 about one million persons came from collective farms to work in factories and on construction jobs.

But soon this proved insufficient to satisfy the growing demand of Soviet industry.

In 1939 at the 18th Congress of the Bolshevik Party, Joseph Stalin appealed to collective farmers "to supply growing industry with at least one and a half million young collective farmers annually."

On 2 October 1940 a decree was published by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet: *On State Labor Reserves of the U. S. S. R.*

"In our country," reads this decree, "unemployment has been entirely abolished. An end has been put to pauperism and ruin in village and town forever, and because of this we have no people who are compelled to leave the villages to look for work in factories and plants thus spontaneously forming a permanent labor reserve for industry. In view of such conditions the state must organize the systematic training of new workers from among city and collective-farm youth."

A government decree ordered the formation of the Central Labor Reserve Administration under the Council of People's Commissars of the U. S. S. R. for the training of labor reserves and their distribution in industry. Regional, territorial and republican Labor Reserve Administrations were to be in charge of training labor reserves.

In Moscow and Leningrad this was to be conducted by city Labor Reserve Administrations subordinate to the Central Labor Reserve Administration under the Council of People's Commissars of the U. S. S. R.

Vocational and Railway Schools offering two-year courses were opened to train skilled

workers in various trades for the metal, chemical, mining, oil and other industries and also skilled workers for naval, river and railway transportation.

Factory training schools with six-month courses were organized to train workers for mass trades primarily for the coal, mining and oil industries, metallurgy and the building trades.

In 1940 over 1500 Vocational and Railway Schools and factory training schools were opened. The state allocated one billion rubles for their maintenance and equipment.

Between 10 November and 25 November, 1940, 350,000 young people from towns and villages were admitted to Vocational and Railway Schools and 250,000 to factory training schools, and 1,100,000 applications were made for 600,000 vacancies.

On 1 December, 1940 the school year began in the newly opened vocational and factory training schools. In May, 1941, the first course of training was completed in factory training schools—250,000 young people went to work in factories and plants, in mines and on construction jobs.

During the last five years (1940—1945) the Soviet government has been able to supply industry and transportation with 2,250,000 skilled workers from state labor reserves. During this period Labor Reserve schools have trained 1,100,000 metal workers, 470,000 building workers, 190,000 railway workers, 150,000 miners, 60,000 metal workers in addition to specialists in other trades. The number of skilled workers who have come from these schools is almost equal to the population of a country like Norway.

In many factories, especially in those evacuated or built during the war, workers trained in labor reserve schools make up from 30 to 70 per cent of the total number of workers there.

Factory training schools accept boys of 16 and 17 years of age and girls from 16 to 18 years—vocational and railway schools take

boys of fourteen and fifteen and girls of fifteen and sixteen. Factory training schools of the mining, metallurgical and building industries take only boys of seventeen. Vocational schools which train workers for mining, metallurgy and railway transportation take only boys of fifteen. All boys and girls recruited are given a thorough medical examination.

Courses in vocational, railway and factory training schools are free of charge. The state supplies them with the necessary textbooks, equipment, food, clothing and footwear. Boys and girls who come from the village or other towns live in dormitories. The pupils of these schools wear uniforms and insignia introduced by the Council of People's Commissars of the U. S. S. R. Before ever setting out for their schools boys and girls who are called up or volunteer for labor reserve schools are supplied with clothing, footwear and food for the journey. If they come from the country, the collective farms are responsible to see that they receive their supplies. If they come from Children's Homes, the People's Commissariat for Education provides for them.

Between 1940 and 1943 approximately 6,500,000,000 rubles were expended by the government on training labor reserves. In 1944 the budget for vocational and factory training schools was over 3,000,000,000 rubles. The total sum expended for training state reserves in the five years between 1940—1945 was 11,000,000,000 rubles. It is sufficient to say that 9,000,000 pairs of shoes and 200,000,000 metres of cloth were expended on uniforms for pupils and workers in these schools.

A total of 4,600,000,000 rubles was spent on food for the pupils. The schools provide excellent medical service. Labor reserve schools have 1057 doctors' offices and more than 20 rest homes.

Every vocational school and factory training school has its own manual training shops, school rooms and lecture halls, laboratories and dormitories. Take for example the Moscow Vocational School No. 71. It trains workers in many trades. In 1945, 75 boys are studying metal casting, 50 are studying moulding, 75 boys and girls will become repair mechanics, 25 electricians and 25 toolmakers.

This school occupies a large two-storey building surrounded by trees and gardens. The auditoriums, laboratories, dormitories are light and airy. Every bed is supplied with snowy linen. Separate closets are provided for street

clothes and for work clothes. The building has showers and a dining room. The school has a well-equipped casting and foundry shop, a toolmaking and turning shop and a physics laboratory. In addition there are four classrooms where general educational subjects are taught. The laboratories and training shops have been equipped by the pupils themselves. They not only drew the plans and blueprints, but even made the tools. Every pupil makes his own hammer, chisel, square, knife, and even cutting stone. Every pupil is given an opportunity to assemble and take apart his machine.

Schools have a six-hour day. Theoretical studies alternate with training in workshops or, for foundry workers, in factories. Vocational school No. 71 is several minutes walk from the factory to which it is attached. This is very convenient both for the factory and the pupils. The latter receive their training both from experienced teachers and skilled workers. The head master of the mechanics' group, G. Demidov, has had 35 years of factory experience, while the headmaster of the tool makers, Yarkov, has had 56 years factory experience.

The underlying principle in working out the curriculum of labor reserve schools is the combination of study with actual production practice. Practical training is combined in vocational schools with the study of the technology of metals, draughting, physics, chemistry, mathematics. In factory training schools almost the entire school time is devoted to actual work on building jobs, in shops and mines and in oil fields. In this they differ from vocational schools.

From the very beginning pupils work with real factory equipment and make actual industrial goods.

The catalogue of production orders is drawn up in accordance with the school plans and programs. In three months, vocational school No. 71 manufactured 12 turning and screw-cutting machines, nearly 90 G-65 machines and 400 sets of tool-making machines.

Conscientious and persevering labor brings good wages. Misha Volkov, a pupil, earned 700 rubles in one month. Tolya Fokin earned 834 rubles, Valya Belyakov 682 rubles and Misha Rumyantsev, an excellent pupil, earned 1000 rubles.

In 1944—1945 pupils of Vocational School No. 13 made 1000 *Record* loudspeakers. Now

they are making 2000 loudspeakers for themselves.

Factory Training School No. 28 was opened in Leningrad at the *Skorohod* Plant in 1944. The first class to complete its course manufactured over 113,000 pairs of high-grade shoes.

In June 1941 the first pupils called up to labor reserve schools had already fulfilled over 250,000,000 rubles worth of orders.

The importance of state labor reserves during the Patriotic War was particularly great. In the very first days of the war many thousands of workers went to the front. It was necessary to replace these people without losing time.

Pupils and graduates of vocational schools went to work in shops and factories. All-round production training helped them to get into the swing of factory work very quickly. In the first 17 months of the war young workers produced over 1,000,000,000 rubles worth of industrial goods for the front. Mikhail Kalinin, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R., expressed high appreciation of the contribution of young workers. In 1942 he said: "Our country will not forget the valour of its sons who are now fighting the German fascist invaders at the fronts of the Patriotic War.

"Nor will it forget the glorious labor of our boys and girls—pupils of vocational, railway and factory training schools—who are helping the front by studying and working to the best of their ability in the rear."

From 1941 to 1943 labor reserves pupils mined over 3,000,000 tons of coal and combustible slates, 1,000,000 tons of iron ore, copper and manganese, over 100,000 tons of oil. They repaired over 600 pit holes, over 60,000 railway cars, over 6,000 locomotives and over 7,500,000 tractors, combines and other agricultural machines. In the same period pupils of factory training and building trades schools erected hundreds of buildings, built 300 ships, laid over 2,000,000,000 bricks and over 500,000 cubic metres of concrete and crushed stone.

Thus a large number of state production orders were filled by young people while they were still studying, i. e., before they were transferred to independent work. While training for different trades boys and girls manufactured armaments and ammunition on their school machines. During the war period, labor reserve pupils under the direction of their

vocational teachers manufactured goods and fulfilled orders to the amount of five billion rubles.

Boys and girls worked and studied in towns besieged by the enemy, on frequently-bombed railways, worked in frontline regions and deep in the rear, on Arctic sea routes and on civil airlines, in mountains and in forests, on new construction jobs, in shops of factories and plants, at power stations and in mines, on oil fields and at radio stations.

During the war years pupils of Vocational and Factory Training Schools made 6,000,000 mines, 25,000,000 parts for armaments, 3,000 metal-cutting machines, 110,000,000 rubles' worth of various tools. They repaired 11,000 locomotives, 100,000 cars, repaired or laid 2,000 kilometres of rail, fixed and strung up 1,000 kilometres of telegraph and telephone wire.

Girls and boys from Vocational and Factory Training Schools have become highly skilled workers, foremen and brigade leaders in factories.

Since its foundation, vocational school No. 9 in Moscow has graduated over one thousand skilled workers—radio operators, telegraph mechanics and others. In far-off Chukotka, on Dixon Island, in Yakutia, on the shores of the Black Sea and the Baltic Sea live boys and girls who are radio operators graduated from this vocational school.

Sergei Drozdov graduated from a vocational school in 1942 and now works in the mechanical shop of Volkov factory. This young brigade leader has won the reputation of being a skilful, resourceful worker. He taught his brigade to work on several machines at once, thus benefiting both the factory and workers themselves by enabling them to increase their wages. An old foreman of the factory, Grebennikov, says that before long Sergei Drozdov will be made a foreman.

The following are a few of the graduates of Magnitogorsk Vocational School No. 13 who have won government decorations: Konstantin Habarov, gas worker in the largest blast furnace in Europe; Gennady Kildoshkin, speed smelting expert; Ivan Zhenin, head of a youth brigade, which won first place among young rolling mill workers of Magnitogorsk.

The Order of the Red Banner of Labor was awarded to Vasili Slavenkov, a graduate of Moscow Vocational School No. 39. He was first to organize a youth brigade in his fac-

tory. During the Battle for Stalingrad, Slavenkov's team fulfilled its quota by three hundred percent.

The movement which spread like wildfire on the Trans-Caucasian railway and received wide recognition has been named after Sindeshkin and Alieyev, graduates of Baku Railway School No. 1. These young workers' new method of work greatly accelerates repairs on rolling stock and saves time and money.

"I recall my days in school with gratitude," says Mikhail Tolokonnikov, graduate of Saratov Vocational School No. 1, now a Stakhanovite in the Saratov Combine Works. "The knowledge I received there enabled me to immediately take my place in the factory."

Many graduates and pupils of labor reserve schools went to the front. Twenty three of them have received the title Hero of the Soviet Union.

Boys and girls are happy to be enrolled in vocational and factory training schools. A special committee is in charge of calling up young people for labor reserve schools. But usually these schools receive many applications from adolescents who ask to be taken as volunteers.

Vocational School No. 13 in Saratov trains radio operators, radio mechanics, telegraph and telephone mechanics. These trades are so popular among boys and girls that year after year the enrollment in this school is made up only of volunteers.

In 1945 no sooner did it become known that enrollment was open than over forty applications were received. Moscow Vocational Schools Nos. 62 and 63 likewise filled their quotas with volunteers.

In September 1945, 1,140 applications were handed in for 100 vacancies in Minsk Vocational School No. 5. In 1945, Moscow Vocational School No. 12 admitted 50 persons. Altogether it has 1500 pupils. During the 1945 enrollment period the director of this school received many letters from boys and girls and their parents in various villages and towns of the Soviet Union:

"Boys from our village who go to your school spent their summer vacations here and told us about how they live and what their vocational school is like," says one letter. "And even if they had not told us, one could see that they are well taken care of in Moscow. And they learned a lot. In some cases they helped the mechanic on the collective

farm. Can't we send some more of our young people to you?"

*

The aim of the vocational school is not only to teach the young person a trade but also to raise his general level of culture. He is brought into contact with literature, music, art. In addition to special subjects, the program of vocational and factory training schools includes general educational subjects such as literature, history and the Russian language. Vocational, railway and factory training schools have 1204 libraries, 148 travelling moving picture machines and 73 stationary moving picture machines for their pupils. They spend their free time skiing, ice-skating, playing hockey in winter, swimming, rowing and engaging in other sports in summer. They have circles where they learn aeroplane modelling, sharp-shooting, radio. All these things fill the young peoples' spare time and make life interesting.

There are 15 various circles in Moscow Vocational School No. 12. This school holds skiing cups awarded by the newspaper *Trud*. Much attention is paid to aesthetic education in vocational schools. Moscow Vocational School No. 71 has an orchestra of folk instruments to which 150 pupils belong. The members learn to play instruments, to read scores and study classical and folk music. The school also has 12 accordion players, a brass band and a chorus.

Three years ago a song and dance ensemble was formed in Magnitogorsk Metallurgists' Vocational School No. 13, a school which has been decorated by the government. Since then most of the original members of the ensemble have graduated and become factory foremen, brigade leaders, etc. But they still attend rehearsals regularly. Zoya Kusik, Sergei Naumov, Anna Podileva and Peter Selinitsev, former members of the ensemble, now belong to the Moscow Philharmonic Orchestra. During the three years of its existence the ensemble has made great progress. It has given 380 concerts in factories, clubs, hospitals and dormitories. Some of its members have visited Moscow, to perform in the Bolshoi Theatre at the All-Union Amateur Art Review of Labor Reserve Schools.

The first review of this type was held in October 1943, in the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow, with 900 persons participating. Groups of

pupils came from Molotov, Saratov, Kuibyshev Regions, from Azerbaijan, Uzbek, and Georgian Soviet Socialist Republics, from Tatar and Buryat-Mongolian Autonomous Republics and from Moscow, Leningrad, and Magnitogorsk.

The second amateur art review of labor reserve schools took place in October, 1944. Participants came to Moscow from 40 regions, provinces, and republics, including pupils from schools in the Ukraine, Byelorussia, and the Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic.

In October 1945 the third review was held. About 2000 pupils came to the capital. Among them were boys and girls from the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia, Armenia, Bashkiria, Tataria and many other regions and towns of the Soviet Union. About 8,000 amateur circles were represented at the review.

Two-thirds of all the young people studying in labor reserve schools belong to some amateur art circle. There are 978 choruses, 96 brass bands, 601 dancing circles, 169 dramatic circles and 121 orchestras of folk instruments.

Prominent actors and musicians help these amateur circles in their work. They give advice to the leaders and members of circles and help draw up the repertoire.

*

During the Patriotic War enormous damage was inflicted on state labor reserve schools by the German invaders. Some 900 vocational schools and factory training schools were looted and damaged by the enemy; the Germans destroyed or took away to Germany about 12,000 machines and motors and blew up or burned almost 2,000 school buildings.

The total damage inflicted on the state labor reserve system by the Hitlerites amounts to 1,400,000,000 rubles.

As the enemy was expelled from Soviet territory, rehabilitation began without delay. By the end of the war over 1,000 vocational, railway and factory training schools had already been opened in liberated regions. Thus, by 1945 the total number of vocational

and factory training schools had not decreased in comparison with 1940, but had increased to 2,570.

In recent years special vocational schools with four-year courses have been organized for children of servicemen and for orphans whose parents were killed in battle against the Germans. Over 12,000 boys and girls study and live in these vocational schools. New vocational schools and factory training schools as well as art handicrafts schools have been formed with three year courses. In order to improve the quality of training of workers for the most important branches of industry the total number of trades taught in state labor reserve schools is being reduced. Thus, whereas in 1943 and 1944 vocational and railway schools trained mechanics of 85 different types, now only 10 types of mechanics are being trained. This reorganization will make it possible to train workers with more general knowledge, who upon graduation will be able to work at their trade in any factory.

In 1945 many new vocational and factory training schools were opened to train workers for "complicated" professions: polygraphy, the power industry, etc. Young people are sent there only after completing the fifth, sixth or seventh grades.

New programs for teaching main subjects, both practical and theoretical, were approved in October, 1945 by the Central Administration of State Labor Reserves. These uniform programs are already serving as a basis for work in vocational and factory training schools.

During the regular enrollment period in September 1945 one hundred and fifty five thousand persons entered vocational and railway schools, while 300 thousand entered factory training schools. This is the largest number admitted in four years.

The five-year plan for the rehabilitation and development of the national economy for 1946 to 1950 will provide for further work in training labor reserves in vocational, railway and factory training schools.

Very soon the state labor reserve system will become the chief source of supplying industry with skilled labor.

SEPARATE EDUCATION FOR SOVIET BOYS AND GIRLS

By *S. Ivanov*

(A Teacher's Notes)

IN THE LAST two and a half years the Council of People's Commissars of the U. S. S. R. has passed two important decisions bearing upon secondary education in our country.

The first of these, dated 16 July 1943, introduced separate education for boys and girls in incomplete secondary ("seven-grade") and complete secondary ("ten-grade") schools in large regional and industrial cities and in republican centres.

The second decision, passed a year later, instituted examinations entitling all secondary school graduates who passed them to "certificates of maturity."

Although these decisions have been in operation for but a brief period, it would be interesting to sum up the first results of their enforcement.

It is first necessary, however, to give a brief historical account of their adoption. The question of co-education versus separate education is old-standing in our country. It suffices to mention that co-educational schools of higher learning existed in Russia as early as the end of the eighteenth century. Later, in the nineteenth century, separate education came to prevail in secondary educational establishments called "gymnasiums." In these schools the curriculums and programs differed for men and women.

What was the pre-revolutionary secondary school like? It cannot be dismissed as having been utterly bad. It may even be said that on the whole it offered young people a high level of education. For this it was solely indebted to those great Russian educators (N. Pirogov, K. Ushinsky, N. Chernyshevsky, V. Ostro-gorsky, V. Vodovozov, V. Stoyunin, L. Polivanov and others) and to their numerous

followers within the walls of the schools themselves, who tirelessly and self-sacrificingly fought the spirit of dull routine in which reactionary bureaucrats in the educational world steeped all instruction.

These progressive educators largely succeeded in realizing their ideas. In many respects Russian gymnasiums for women deservedly served models for similar schools in Western Europe (France, Germany, Bulgaria) which were founded approximately twenty-five years later. Naturally, however, the pre-revolutionary secondary school had many shortcomings. The first of these, its primordial sin, so to speak, was that this school was from its inception and remained so right up to the October Revolution, a narrow class institution, in which the children of the poor could be found only as very rare exceptions. The second shortcoming of the old secondary school was its lack of a unified program of education and training for boys and girls, stemming from the stubborn refusal of the officials in the Ministry of Education to recognize any equality of rights for men and women. However, despite these fundamental wrongs, the actual instruction in this class school did, as a rule, stand on a comparatively high level. The Ministerial bureaucrats were unable to kill the vital spirit of the pre-revolutionary secondary school. Side by side with the zealous government agents, the semi-uniformed clerks and "men in mufflers," the prim head-mistresses and decorous classroom mistresses that were to be found in every gymnasium, there were also progressive teachers who gave their pupils lasting knowledge and inculcated ideas of progress and love of mankind.

Progressive teachers in old-time Russia

tirelessly fought for equality of education for men and women, looking upon this as the first step towards the winning of equality of rights for women. The movement in favour of co-education for boys and girls also grew and spread. However, all these attempts of progressive elements among Russian teachers and Russian society in general were ineffectual against the stone wall of opposition raised by reactionary forces.

The October Revolution radically altered the system of public education and immediately introduced co-education in all Russian schools, from the bottom to the top.

This reform conformed with the very essence of the new system for which women's rights were a basic and active principle.

Co-education wholly justified itself. Firstly, it gave a powerful impetus to the mental and moral uplift of half of the country's population, placing women on an equal footing with men in fact as well as in principle. Further, it promoted the spread of secondary education (and therefore higher education, as well) among girls. Lastly, it completely uprooted backward theories of the mental and social "inferiority" of women.

Such was the political and moral value of co-education. From the purely educational viewpoint it also justified itself. The Soviet co-educational school grew into a vital and viable organism capable of further development. On the whole the influence that the boys and girls exerted on each other proved undoubtedly positive. Lasting comradesly relations were established between the boys and girls that not infrequently developed into strong friendships. Instead of lowering the moral level of the pupils, co-education actually substantially raised it. And, although in some grades of the ten-year Secondary School (especially in the 5th—7th grades) age peculiarities and differences between the sexes sometimes manifested themselves in roughness and insolence on the part of the boys and reticence and intolerance on the part of the girls, the positive aspects of co-education—increasing comradeship, friendship, mutual respect and community of ideological aspirations—more than compensated for these shortcomings.

Credit for the moral and physical wholesomeness of Soviet secondary school pupils must largely be attributed to the Soviet school system. The schools helped the girls,

so long stigmatized by the term "the weaker sex," to apply their talents to the task of marching forward shoulder to shoulder with the boys.

The good influence that boys and girls have on each other is undeniable. This influence is felt mainly in regard to factors of an ideological, cultural and moral nature, the significance of which is particularly great. We cannot, however, close our eyes to those phenomena which although they do not usually go so far as to become directly negative factors, do, in any case, impede the smooth course of the pedagogical process. The first of these is the fact that boys between the ages of twelve and fifteen are less disciplined than girls, are less attentive and less responsive to organization. This frequently makes it necessary to use substantially different methods of character training in the case of boys and girls. The teacher's methods of establishing friendly contact with his pupils also differ for the two sexes. In presenting literary material the teacher must seriously consider how best to satisfy in equal measure the different interests and requirements of the boys and girls and how to avoid any "levelling" of instruction from the informative and emotional standpoints. All this makes work in a co-educational school especially interesting, but also especially complicated.

The above are the most important advantages and disadvantages of co-education. After due consideration of the historical, the theoretical and practical aspects of co-education, Soviet educators came to the decision that separate education would enable them to raise the standards of the Soviet school to a still higher level.

Let us consider this reform first from the point of view of principle and then on the basis of its results.

What considerations influenced the legislator to introduce separate education in the secondary school side by side with co-education in other educational institutions?

One of the points in the instructions issued by the People's Commissariat of Education concerning the decision of the Council of People's Commissars, gives the following explanation: "...co-education makes no allowance for differences in the physical development of boys and girls, for the different training required by the sexes in preparing them for their future work, for practical activity, for

military training, and does not ensure the required standard of discipline among the pupils."

Thus separate education is preferred to co-education primarily because it makes it possible to take full account of the differences in the physical development of boys and girls. This proposition is, naturally, indisputable and is of the greatest educational importance. The fact that, be it said to the credit of the majority of the leaders and teachers in co-educational schools, co-education did not, on the whole, aggravate those unfavourable influences springing from physical differences between the sexes, does not denote that these unfavourable influences were not felt in the educational process. This was made all the more serious by the fact that physical peculiarities frequently exert a marked and patently unfavourable influence upon psychology, disturbing its harmonious development in both sexes. It means absolutely nothing, therefore, that on the whole the favourable influences overbalanced the unfavourable ones. The fact that the co-educational school had reached a high level of development does not mean that with the practice of separate education the school cannot reach an even higher level.

The achievement of this new high level was, in fact, the purpose of the legislator, so that through the joint influence of school and family, our boys and girls may grow into truly new people.

Given this comprehension of the purport of reform, the co-educational school that replaced the very imperfect school of the old days, was essential at a definite historical period. At the present time, however, co-education represents a stage that the Soviet school has already passed through in progressing toward its aim. It actively promoted the introduction of the principles of equal rights for women, starting at the earliest age; it brought about friendlier relations between the two sexes on the wholesome soil of comradeship and community of mental interests and social ideals. It gave inspiration to the Soviet girl and at the same time made her feel that she had firm ground under her feet. The co-educational school has played its role and has thereby made it possible to solve more complex and broader educational problems.

What are these problems? One is that while fully preserving and further developing the achievements of the co-educational school, all education and training of boys and girls from

now on should be conducted in absolute accord with their psychological and physical peculiarities. There can be no doubt that both the boys and the girls can only benefit from this. The amount of academic knowledge which they acquire in school remains identical for both sexes. The professions stand equally open to them, but the new measure enables the school to better satisfy the different psychological and esthetic needs of both girls and boys and to better prepare them for practical life. In the two years since this measure has been introduced much has already been accomplished in this regard. In many girls' schools the pupils of the higher grades have studied psychology and pedagogy as part of their regular school programs, have visited kindergartens and have had elementary practice in caring for children. Practical classes in home economics, handicrafts and applied arts have been introduced in most girls' schools. Full consideration has been given to the physical properties of boys in arranging the studies in boys' schools. At the same time the general academic courses follow a unified educational program and have shown no deterioration in quality.

Serious attention is given to physical and military training in both the boys' and the girls' schools, with, naturally, due consideration given to the physical differences between the sexes.

Separate education has also substantially altered the organization of extra-curricular activities, and it must be admitted that these changes have also been favourable.

In regard to the exact sciences, separate extra-curricular activities for boys and girls have fully justified themselves. The work done by such scientific circles during the last two years has shown that girls reveal a profound interest in scientific problems, a capacity for independent thinking and an inclination towards pure research work. As far as circles in literature, dramatics and declamation are concerned, it has been found that uniting the boys and girls is desirable, and this has been practised successfully in many Moscow schools.

To a certain extent this eliminates the weak point in the system of separate education: the separation of the sexes.

True, the sexes will meet together in the higher schools of learning, and this while still very young. Even before the war, girls

constituted more than half of the student body in most universities. But even at school age the young people of both sexes can profit from their joint participation in scientific, art and sports circles.

Above we have given the intent of the new reform. What have been its palpable results?

Speaking at an All-Russian Conference on Public Education a year ago, Academician V. Potemkin, People's Commissar of Education, said:

"As a result of a year's experience in separate education we may confidently constitute the following: the pupils of these schools have become more efficient in their studies; our young people conduct themselves more simply and seriously in the separate schools; the rudeness that was sometimes to be observed in the relations between boys and girls in co-educational classes is disappearing. The work of character training is facilitated in that in the persons of their teachers of the corresponding sex the girls and boys find elder guides who can approach them more closely, and understand their mental, moral and sometimes even practical requirements

and needs better than others. All this gives us grounds for further extending the system of separate education."

This evaluation is fully confirmed by the results of the past year (the second year of the reform). The examinations for "certificates of maturity" that were held in the secondary schools for the first time this year testify to the fact that our young people have responded to the demands made of them by their country with all seriousness. Of the 5,223 students of graduating classes in Moscow schools, only sixty failed their final examinations, while 270 won gold and silver medals.

Naturally, these results are not accidental: they are the direct result of a consistently applied system of education and training on the one hand, and of the spiritual wealth of our young people on the other. Our young men and women, as they close the doors of the secondary schools behind them, possess the broad mental outlook, the high moral principles, firm will, sober realism, optimism, social ideals, patriotism, courage, physical hardiness and health enabling them to become worthy members of socialist society.

MARX AND ENGELS VERSUS REACTION IN GERMANY

(On the 50th Anniversary of Engels' Death)

IN 1944 the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute in Moscow put out a collection of documents entitled *Marx and Engels Versus Reaction in Germany*. The preface to this publication states:

"The articles and letters written by Marx and Engels and included in the present volume are a vivid example of the scathing criticism which the founders of Marxism levelled against reactionary policies in Germany. Marx and Engels revealed just why it was that Germany played so exceptionally reactionary a role in Europe. They passionately exposed all that was disgusting and loathsome in German history and that later reached its apotheosis and found such monstrous expression in German fascism. All through the period of their political activities Marx and Engels fought tirelessly for the establishment of a democratic system in Germany which should put an end to reaction and militarism forever and open up prospects for political and social progress."

Many of the articles in this volume relate to the period of the revolution of 1848—1849 (*Germany's Foreign Policy, New Year Greetings, The Exploits of the Hohenzollerns* and others, published in *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*). In them Marx and Engels present a "long list" of the bloody crimes perpetrated by the German governments, which invariably assumed the role of the "executioners of freedom" in Europe, the role of the enslavers and oppressors of other nations.

In his articles *Prussia* and *The Situation in Prussia* published in the *New York Tribune* in the 'fifties, Marx presented an analysis of the profound reaction that set in in Germany

after the defeat of the revolution of 1848 when once again the power fell into the hands of the Prussian Junkers.

The Second Address of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association, written by Marx, and also his letters of the period of the Franco-Prussian war in 1870-1871, exposed the methods by which Junker Prussia unified Germany under its own hegemony (constant warfare, the brigandly usurpation of alien territories, etc.).

The passages from the work of Engels—his introduction to Borkheim's brochure *In Memory of the German Arch-Patriots of 1806-1807* and his preface to the brochure *Karl Marx before a Jury*—that are included in this volume also characterize the Prussian-German Empire. In the preface Engels likewise pitilessly unmasks the German Philistine and the loyal reverence in which he holds his rulers.

"We have always," Engels wrote in 1883, "strenuously combated the petty-bourgeois, Philistine spirit within the Party, because ever since this spirit developed after the Thirty Years' War, it has taken possession of all classes in Germany and has become her hereditary disease, the blood brother of obsequiousness, of the German subject's loyal submissiveness and all other hereditary German vices. It is this spirit that has made us ridiculous and worthy of contempt in the eyes of the world. This Philistinism is the principal reason for the fact that flabbiness and weakness of character reign supreme in our country. It holds sway on the throne just as often as in the cobbler's hut".

True enough, the subsequent history of

Germany showed that the triumph of opportunism among German Social-Democratic circles made it possible for the forces of reaction to develop an unbridled militarist policy and unleash World War I. Similarly, the conduct of the German Social-Democracy in the post-war period paved the way for German fascism's advent to power.

Some of the articles by Marx and Engels (*Zeitungshalle*, *The Rhein Province* and *Prussia*) are here published in Russian translation for the first time. A part of Engels' manuscript *Notes on Germany* is also published in this volume for the first time. These notes were the preparatory material for a work on the history of Germany that Engels planned to write but that remained unwritten. The manuscript consists of a series of independent fragments.

The editors of the *VOKS Bulletin* herein publish excerpts from the documents contained in the above-mentioned volume.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels
"Germany's Foreign Policy"

(Fragment)

Cologne, July 2, 1848.

"To set nations one against the other, to utilize one nation for the oppression of the other, to prolong the existence of absolute despotic power in this manner—these are what have formed the art and the activity of rulers and their diplomats until now. Germany has especially distinguished herself in this respect . . .

"The guilt for the infamies perpetrated in other countries with Germany's aid falls, to a considerable extent, upon the German people itself, as well as upon the German government. Were it not for its blindness, for its servile spirit, its readiness to play the role of *landsknechts* and "benign" executioners, to serve as an obedient tool in the hands of the masters "by the grace of God," the word "German" would not be pronounced abroad with such hatred, with such contempt and malediction, and the peoples enslaved by Germany would long ago have attained to a normal state of free development. Now that the Germans are beginning to cast off their own yoke they must alter their whole policy towards other countries; otherwise they will find that the chains they have forged for

others will entangle their own shadowy young freedom. Germany will win its own freedom to the extent that it leaves other countries in freedom.

"... To put an end to that predatory expenditure of German blood and German money which, contrary to Germany's own interests, is being made for the sake of suppressing other nations, we must secure a truly popular government, while the old edifice must be razed to its foundations."

(Published in *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 33, July 3, 1848. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. VI, Russ. ed.)

Karl Marx

"The Exploits of the Hohenzollerns"

Cologne, May 9, 1849.

"Who does not know of the perfidy, the craft, the trickery with inheritances, thanks to which that family of corporals that bears the name of Hohenzollern exalted itself?

"Everyone knows how the so-called 'great Elector' (as if an 'elector' could ever be 'great'!) committed his first act of treason against Poland by suddenly, while in alliance with Poland against Sweden, switching over to the Swedes so as to be able to plunder Poland the better after the Peace of Oliva.

"Everyone knows the vileness of Frederick I, the brutal boorishness of Frederick William I.

"Everyone knows how Frederick II, the creator of patriarchal despotism, the friend of an enlightenment clubbed into people's heads, auctioned his country off to French businessmen.¹

"Everyone knows how, having pretended to be an ardent adherent of the lawful king of France and Navarre, he bought the crown jewels of this same king from the French re-

¹ Frederick II, lauded by Prussian historians as a "national hero" and "patriotic monarch," repeatedly entered into deals with foreign governments, the object of which was the most barefaced bartering of German territory. Thus, in 1740, for example, he suggested to the French a plan of partitioning the Austrian domains in exchange for the assistance which he sought from France for the conquest of Silesia. "Since the time of Frederick II," wrote Engels, "Prussia has seen in Germany, as in Poland, only territory for conquest, territory from which as much as possible is torn away, but which, it goes without saying, has to be shared with others." (*Collected Works*, Vol. XVI, Part I, p. 464. Russ. ed.)

public for a song and thereby made a fortune on the misfortunes of his dear friend and brother.

"Everyone knows how he, whose life was a purely Hohenzollern mixture of debauchery and mysticism, of senile lechery and childish superstition, choked freedom of thought with the Bischoffswerder edicts.¹

"Everyone knows how in 1813 Frederick William III, by means of flowery words and big-sounding promises, convinced the Prussian people that the campaign against Napoleon was a war of liberation, whereas it was actually a matter of suppressing the French Revolution and of restoring the old monarchy 'by the grace of God'...

"Everyone knows that it is but rarely that one may meet in the history of governments a period in which such praiseworthy intentions were carried out with the aid of measures more gross and violent than in the period of Frederick William III, especially in 1815—1840. Never and nowhere were there so many arrests and sentences, never were fortresses so crowded with political prisoners as under this 'Just' monarch."

(Published in *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 294, May 10, 1849. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. VII, Russ. ed.)

Karl Marx

Excerpt from "The Second Address of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association on the Franco-Prussian War"

"History teaches us that the same thing occurs with whole countries as with individuals. To take the possibility of attacking away from them they must be deprived of all means of defence... If ever a conqueror strove to win 'material guarantees' in order to break the strength of another country, Napoleon did so in his Treaty of Tilsit and in the way he utilized it in regard to Prussia and the rest of Germany. Nevertheless, a few years later his tremendous power collapsed

¹ The laws issued in Prussia in 1788 and which came to be known as the Bischoffswerder edicts were directed against enlightenment, freedom of the press and freedom of religion. The chief initiator of these measures was Bischoffswerder, a counselor of the Prussian King Frederick William II.

utterly before the eyes of the German people.¹ What are the 'material guarantees' which Prussia could or dare force on France even in its wildest dreams compared with those which Napoleon forced on Prussia? The result will be no less disastrous this time. History will mete out punishment not in accordance with the number of square miles of land severed from France, but according to the magnitude of the crime committed, which consists in that now, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the policy of conquest has been newly revived.

"The mouthpieces of Teutonic patriotism declare that the Germans must not be confused with the French. We want only security and not military glory. The Germans are essentially a peace-loving people. In their defensive arguments they even transform conquest from a cause of future wars into a guarantee of eternal peace. Naturally, it was not Germany which invaded France in 1792 with the noble aim of destroying the revolution of the eighteenth century with bayonets. Was it not Germany which soiled its hands with the subjugation of Italy, the suppression of Hungary and the dismemberment of Poland? Its present military system which divides the whole of the physically fit adult male population into two parts—a standing army on duty and a second standing army on leave, both of them equally enjoined to passive obedience to the orders of the Regent by the Grace of God—such a military system is naturally a 'material guarantee' of world peace, and beyond that the highest aim of civilization!" (Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. XIII, Part 2, Russ. ed.)

¹ The Peace of Tilsit with Prussia was signed by Napoleon on 9 July, 1807, after the defeat of the Prussians at Jena and the successful conclusion of the French campaign of 1806-1807 in East Prussia. In accordance with the terms of this treaty the territory of the Prussian state was cut in half. So that Prussia would never again be able to make war on France, Napoleon compelled the Prussian King to give over to him, as a guarantee, part of the Prussian fortresses, to reduce the army and to break off all relations with England. Subsequently, in his desire for new conquests, Napoleon utilized Prussia as a springboard for his invasion of Russia. In the war of 1812 the Russian people inflicted a telling defeat upon the invaders. Napoleon's expulsion from Russia served as a signal for a general uprising of all the European peoples he had subdued. In 1814 Russian troops, together with the other participants of the anti-Napoleonic alliance, entered France and overthrew Napoleon.

Friedrich Engels
Excerpt From Preface to the Brochure
"Karl Marx Before a Jury"

"...Thus, the demand which the German Philistine addresses to the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, has but one purport; this party must become just as Philistine as he is himself and must by no means participate in revolutions; it must serve only as a passive object for them all."

(Published in Zurich in 1885. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. XVI, Part I)

Excerpt
From the Correspondence of Marx and Engels
Marx to Engels
December 2, 1856.

... "Petty pilfering, bribery, direct purchases, legacy hunting, etc.—such is the knavery that the history of Prussia boils down to. Whatever is interesting in feudal history—

conflict between the sovereign and his vassals, crooked business with the cities, etc.—is all caricatured here in dwarfish form, because the cities are pettily tedious and the feudal lords inconsequent bores and the sovereign himself a veritable nonentity."

Friedrich Engels "Notes on Germany"

(Excerpt from the Second Manuscript)

"Tragicomical conflict: the Prussian state must wage political wars for remote interests which never arouse national enthusiasm, and for this purpose keep an army fit only for national defence and the offensive directly following from it (1814 and 1870). In this conflict the Prussian state and the Prussian army will be smashed—most likely in a war with Russia, which can last four years and which will bring Prussia only sickness and shattered bones."

(Published in *Marx and Engels Versus Reaction in Germany*, Moscow, 1944, Russ. Ed.)

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE DNIEPER HYDRO-ELECTRIC STATION

By *I. V. Abramov,*

Associate-Professor, Scientific Secretary, Commission on the History of Engineering,
Academy of Sciences of the U. S. S. R.

BETWEEN Ekaterinoslav (now Dnepropetrovsk) and Alexandrovsk (now Zaporozhye) the Dnieper was blocked for a distance of 100 kilometres by a series of nine rapids formed by the granite foothills of the Carpathian Mountains. In 1825, engineer Shishev drew up a project for eliminating the rapids in this part of the river in order to make the Dnieper navigable from one end to the other. Later similar projects were submitted by other engineers, but it was only under the Soviet government that this problem found practical solution: in 1920 the GOELRO (State Plan for the Electrification of Russia) provided, among other things, for a powerful Hydro-Electric Station on the Dnieper, to be built in accordance with the one-dam project submitted by I. G. Alexandrov, member of the U. S. S. R. Academy of Sciences.

Construction of the dam was begun in 1927 and took five years. "A historical feat of construction," Joseph Stalin said of it on the day in 1932 when Dnieper Hydro-Electric Station was put into operation. The power station included the following structures: a dam across the Dnieper just below the rapids at the settlement of Kichkas; the hydro-power station proper on the right bank of the Dnieper; sluice and river port on the left bank. The volume of earth and rock excavated exceeded 8,500,000 cubic metres; 820,000 cubic metres of concrete were used on the dam and 370,000 cubic metres on the engine room and sluice. Until the United States erected the Boulder Dam on the Colorado River in 1937, having a capacity of 1,317,000 kilowatts, the Dnieper station was the largest in the world.

Nine vertical Francis turbines with a capacity of 103,000 h. p. each were mounted here. The station was calculated to generate an average of 3,000,000,000 kilowatt hours of power annually. This exceeded the total power generated by all the power houses in pre-revolutionary Russia put together. In years when the Dnieper ran particularly high the Dnieper Dam was expected to produce no less than 4,500,000,000 kilowatt hours.

The existence of so great a source of cheap power made it possible to turn Zaporozhye into one of the largest industrial centres in the country. Many new industrial enterprises were erected there during the years of the Five-Year Plans, among them a combined iron and steel works, an aluminium works, a plant for the manufacture of special steels and ferrous alloys, and a plant for the manufacture of harvester combines. A high-voltage transmission circuit line linked the Dnieper Power Station with the district thermo-electric station of Dnieprodzerzhinsk, Krivoy Rog, and the Donbas. The Dnieper station supplied hundreds of industrial and communal enterprises and scores of cities with electric power.

For eleven years the Dnieper was held in subjection to man's will. Flowing around the Dam, which was three-quarters of a kilometre long, the river swirled through the spillway between the dam and the right bank into an artificial creek, the so-called "fore-chamber" of the power station. The station itself rose behind the reinforced concrete walls of this fore-chamber. In one of the walls of the station nine steel pipes, each about eight metres in diameter, remained

exposed to view. The river rushed through these pipes and turned the wheels of the water turbines which transformed the water power into electric power.

The Dnieper Hydro-Power Station was the pride of the Soviet people. The Germans barbarically destroyed it. They reduced the majestic structure to a chaotic mass of steel and concrete.

The Germans blew up more than half of the abutments of the dam, most of the wall connecting the abutments, the sluice gates, the entrance portal on the right bank, much of the highway and service bridges across the dam, the engine room of the power house with all its machinery—turbines and turbo-generators. They burned down all the houses in the workers' settlements on the left bank and many of those on the right bank.

Thanks to the heroism and vigilance of our Red Army-men the principal structure of the station—the dam—was saved from complete destruction. At the height of the fighting in the region of the Dnieper Dam the Hitlerites implanted 100 aviation bombs weighing 500 kilograms each and several tons of explosives in the lower part of the dam. This diabolic scheme of blowing up the dam was discovered in good time. Brave men were brought across to the right bank, where, working under raking enemy fire, they cut the fuses of the explosives. In the morning the Germans repaired them, but at night the Red Army scouts cut them again. There ensued a stubborn fight for abutment No. 9, which lasted until the Germans were finally driven out. The dam was thus saved from destruction.

However, by blowing up other structures the Germans unleashed the elements, and in the spring of 1944 the rising river completely flooded all that remained of the hydro-electric power station.

Only late in the summer could the work of reconstruction be undertaken. It began with the laying of railway tracks, the installing of power lines, and the establishing of communications. This was followed by drilling holes in the foundations to lower the level of the upper water, thus making it possible to work on parts of the dam then inundated. Two concrete factories, an oxygen plant and four saw mills were erected on the site to expedite reconstruction.

Since all of the concrete construction work

had not been destroyed by explosion, part of it could be preserved and utilized by means of cementing and using special metal bolts. Divers worked on the restoration of those parts lying under water. The complicated job of joining old concrete construction work with new was undertaken on the Dnieper Dam for the first time in engineering practice.

In the autumn of last year, engineers were confronted with the serious problem of protecting the construction site from the spring flood. The forechamber should have been blocked off by a wooden stone-filled crosspiece set up between the dam and the right bank. To do this twenty thousand cubic metres of timber were required. Such a quantity was unavailable, and I. I. Kandalov, Chief Engineer of the Dnieper Construction Project, suggested using the tremendous mass of exploded concrete, scrap iron, sand and stone to build a levee 90,000 cu. metres in volume. The levee was to be covered with a canvas screen to reduce water infiltration. Many eminent engineers objected to this proposal, arguing that it would not achieve its purpose, that the water would seep through anyhow. It was indeed an audacious plan, but it worked. This year the station was not flooded and reconstruction work continued all through the spring.

What has been done so far? Over 330,000 cubic metres of exploded concrete have been cleared away, over 100,000 tons of metal structural pieces have been dismantled, approximately 3,500 tons have been mounted anew and 300,000 square metres of living space have been restored. The sluice wall of the hydro-station and the whole dam will have been completely reconstructed before the winter sets in. All the metal structures, especially the sluice lock, should be completely reconstructed by the next spring flood, and no less than 100,000 cu. metres of concrete are to be laid.

The first aggregates will be put into operation in the spring of 1946. These will supply power to the enterprises of Zaporozhye, Dniepropetrovsk, Nikopol and the Donbas. By the end of 1947 the station will have regained its pre-war capacity.

The whole country has come to the aid of the workers rebuilding the Dnieper Dam. Almost every day trainloads of freight leave Moscow railroad yards for Dniepropetrovsk. The Ordjonikidze and *Krasny Proletari* plants

have shipped a consignment of machinery for the Dnieprostroi machine plant. The *Serp i Molot* Works have fulfilled an order for stone cutting parts made of manganese steel. The Stalin Automobile Works have shipped two car loads of spare automobile parts.

The workers of the Stalin region (Donbas) have sent ninety carloads of corrugated iron, cast iron, various grades of metals, dyes and coal for the reconstruction of the Dnieper Dam. The students of the Dniepropetrovsk Automobile Technical College felled and shipped 13,000 cubic metres of wood to the Dnieper Dam.

Young collective farmers of the Zaporozhye region assumed the obligation of contributing

eight days' work to the Dnieper construction. Their example was enthusiastically followed by others, with the result that as many as 50,000 young men and women took voluntary part in the reconstruction of the dam in 1945, working a total of 375,000 days.

Day and night the work goes on; the pounding of hammers, the creaking of windlasses, the whistling of locomotives and the roar of gigantic cascades of water falling from a height of 22 metres does not cease for a moment. All twenty-four hours of the day are utilized. The time will come when the Dnieper, this famous Ukrainian river, will again be illumined by the thousands of lights of the Lenin Hydro-Electric Station.

I N M E M O R I A M

VLADIMIR LEONTIEVICH KOMAROV

(1869—1945)

VVLADIMIR LEONTIEVICH KOMAROV was one of the greatest of modern naturalists, for many years President of the U. S. S. R. Academy of Sciences, and a distinguished public figure. As a younger contemporary of Mendeleyev, Sechenov, Pavlov and Timiryasev, Komarov carried on the finest traditions of the past in Soviet science.

Vladimir Komarov was born in St. Petersburg in 1869. He entered the University of St. Petersburg in 1890. While still a university student he became a consistent follower of Darwin and began a systematic collection of material for the further development of Darwin's theory. In 1892-1893 he explored Central Asia and came to original conclusions concerning the origin and nature of the local flora. During his years in the university Komarov also came to hold progressive social ideas which brought him into the circles of the most revolutionary-minded scientists of the latter part of the nineteenth century.

In 1895 Komarov began his remarkable investigations of the flora of the Far East, investigations which won him lasting fame in the field of botany. Komarov explored sparsely populated territories of the Orient and made many important botanical and geographical discoveries. In 1901 he published the first volume of his profound work on *The Flora of Manchuria*. In the three volumes of this work he described one thousand six hundred and eighty-two species of plants, of which eighty-four were first discovered by himself. *The Flora of Manchuria* became a classical work which formed the basis of further research in this field. It is with good reason that scientists today speak of the "pre-

Komarovian" and "Komarovian" periods in the study of the flora of this area.

In 1902 Komarov made his famous journey to Lake Kosogol, as a result of which he definitely established traces of an ancient ice age in the eastern part of the Sayan Mountains, thereby confirming the hypothesis of the distinguished Russian geographer P. A. Kropotkin.

In 1905 Vladimir Komarov undertook a fundamental investigation of the flora of China and Mongolia and came to broad and bold conclusions concerning the geological and botanical history of the Orient. This cycle of investigations brought Komarov to the so-called "migration" theory of the history of plants. He showed how plants moved from one district to another, and combined the old so-called "relict" theory with the new "migration" theory to form a harmonious conception of the formation of species and of modern flora.

In 1908-1909 Komarov made a number of journeys to Kamchatka, from which he drew the material for the three volumes of his comprehensive work on *The Flora of the Peninsula of Kamchatka*. In this work he described eight hundred and twenty-five species of plants, of which seventy-four were his own discovery.

The Soviet Revolution marked a turning point in Vladimir Komarov's work. Finding himself free of the restrictions that the old regime imposed upon radically-minded scientists, Komarov initiated a broad program of theoretical scientific work. He occupied the chair of botany in the University of St. Petersburg, which he made a center of progressive



Vladimir Leontievich Komarov

ideas in botany. He became an outstanding theoretician of the formation of species and actively furthered the progress of Darwin's ideas. Komarov's book *The Theory of Plant Species* has become a handbook for every Darwinist and has had six printings to date.

In 1914 Vladimir Komarov was elected a corresponding member and in 1920 a regular member of the Academy of Sciences. In 1930 he became its Vice-President and in 1936 its President. All his activities in this capacity were permeated with the desire to

serve the people, to have science participate in socialist construction. He gave all his energies to the advancement of science, striving to bring theory into closer relation with practice.

The credit for initiating the Academy's most important undertakings falls to Komarov. He it was who initiated the undertaking of large, complicated research problems, organized expeditions, founded local branches of the Academy in the Union Republics. He was an outstanding public figure, a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R.

Komarov contributed greatly to the establishment of close ties between Soviet and foreign science. He was the President of the VOKS Natural Science Section.

During the Great Patriotic War the voice of Vladimir Komarov—ardent patriot and great humanist—rang throughout the country and beyond it, rousing the people to an irreconcilable struggle against fascism. Komarov was one of the initiators and leaders of research work aiming at the mobilization of the resources of the eastern regions of the country for purposes of defence. Although he was already seriously ill, he conducted practical work, delivered public lectures and directed the Academy's various institutions without sparing himself.

A few months before his death Komarov asked to be released from the post of President of the U. S. S. R. Academy of Sciences, and therefore concentrated all his efforts on scientific research in botany and the history of science. Until he drew his last breath this great scientist worked for the welfare of science and humanity.

Komarov's name will live forever in the history of natural science and in the memory of Soviet scientists and the whole Soviet people as that of an outstanding Russian patriot, a profound and bold thinker, a tireless warrior for the advancement of science.

NIKOLAI PAVLOVICH KHMELYOV

1901-1945

(Actor of the Moscow Art Theatre)

By Lev Eugeniev

PRINCE K. was not so old, yet it seemed that he was just about to fall to pieces, so worn out, or rather, so utterly "dilapidated" he was.

Prince K. appears on the staircase landing leading to his room. He is very serious, bears himself stiffly, erect, and is deeply engrossed in some thought. His concentration continues for some seconds, and then it appears that all he is thinking about is how to set foot on the first step without losing his balance and his dignified air. He even seems to be worried that his leg may slip out of its socket, or his knee cap may suddenly crumble. With the greatest caution he at last sets foot on the staircase and slowly begins to descend, moving skilfully on his straight, stiff legs.

Prince K. is an extraordinary individual. His eyes glitter with a lifeless, cold light. He casts rapid, intent glances at the objects and people around him—at Maria Alexandrovna, at Zina, at his nephew,—but there is something too intent about these glances. His refined, fashionable gestures, abrupt and uncertain, resemble the fantastic movements of a damaged mechanism. The Prince weaves about the stage uncertainly. In order to sit down or rise from an armchair he first concentrates all his attention and then performs these movements with the greatest precision. There is not a single grey hair in his moustache, his side whiskers or his imperial—they are all black, somehow too black. His hair is neatly and elegantly combed back, too neatly.

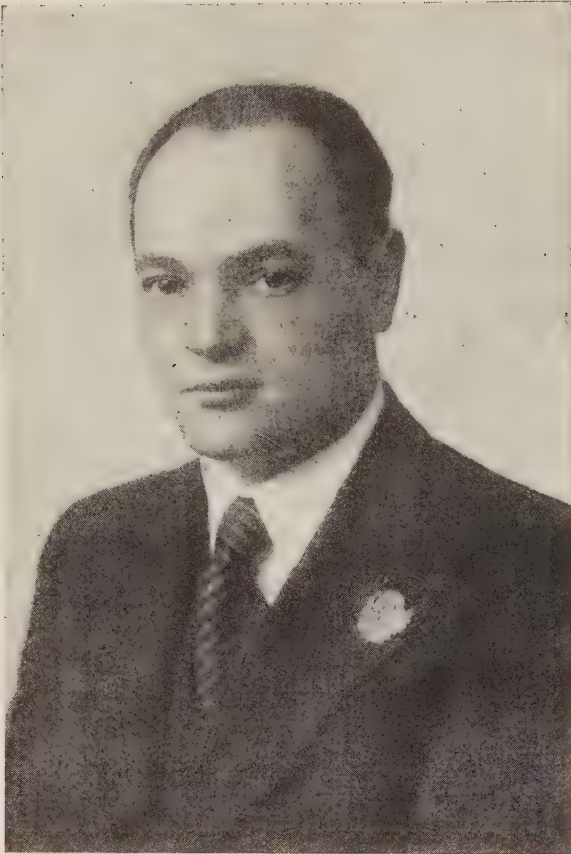
Where did this fantastic Prince K. come from? Did Khmelyov invent him? No; Fyodor Dostoyevsky portrayed him just so in *The Dream of a Queer Fellow*. The black wig and the imperial and the side whiskers were all described in detail by the author. Khmelyov merely follows Dostoyevsky's directions. He does this, however, with remarkable faithfulness. Dostoyevsky, for instance,

merely hints that the Prince has a glass eye and a cork leg and wears a corset, and Khmelyov likewise creates his impression through hints and barely perceptible nuances: perhaps the prince really does wear a corset, perhaps he really does have a cork leg—think what you like. Perhaps the prince is wholly made up of springs and levers and joints. Perhaps he is nothing but the metaphor—"a creaking skeleton"—come to life.

Does the secret of Khmelyov's skill and charm as an actor lie merely in this play of vivid dramatic colours, in his consummate mastery of movement, in the ideal accuracy of his reproduction of a literary character? All this is, of course, done brilliantly, with the subtlest feeling for dramatic truth. But we could find this much elsewhere than in the Art Theatre and in the performances of other actors than Khmelyov. Good as all this is, there is nothing in it as yet that constitutes the "exceptional" quality of the acting to be seen in the Art Theatre. Moreover, there are playgoers who consider that Khmelyov's acting in *The Dream of a Queer Fellow* constitutes a departure from the principles and style of the Art Theatre. This is because Khmelyov does not fear to approach the grotesque, the artistically justified grotesque, which is so rare in our theatres in general, and on the stage of the Art Theatre in particular.

The second act of *The Dream of a Queer Fellow* is now in progress. Clever, scheming Maria Alexandrovna has Zina sing some romantic ballad to the Prince in order to awaken sentimental feelings in this human wreck and make him fall in love with and marry her.

Zina sings. The prince seems to start out of his stupefaction. His face, that has just worn the indifferent smile of an idiot, suddenly shows some signs of emotion; sparks of life flash in his eyes.



Nikolai Pavlovich Khmelyov—Most Recent Portrait

"But... my God! This song! But... I know this song! I heard it long ago... It reminds me so much of... Oh, my God!"

At this point there occurs that from which, properly speaking, we can begin to talk of the creative secrets of the actor Khmelyov, that made him so vivid and inimitable a personality among all the other brilliant representatives of the Soviet stage.

Life suddenly begins to glow in this human wreck. Perhaps it is no more than a shadow of life, but that only makes the dramatic effect, in which there is so much psychological, theatrical and artistic truth, all the more striking.

The prince has fallen in love. He wants to, but cannot get down on his knees before Zina. His legs refuse to obey him. He mumbles some nonsense, but mingled with this nonsense you catch warm, human words:

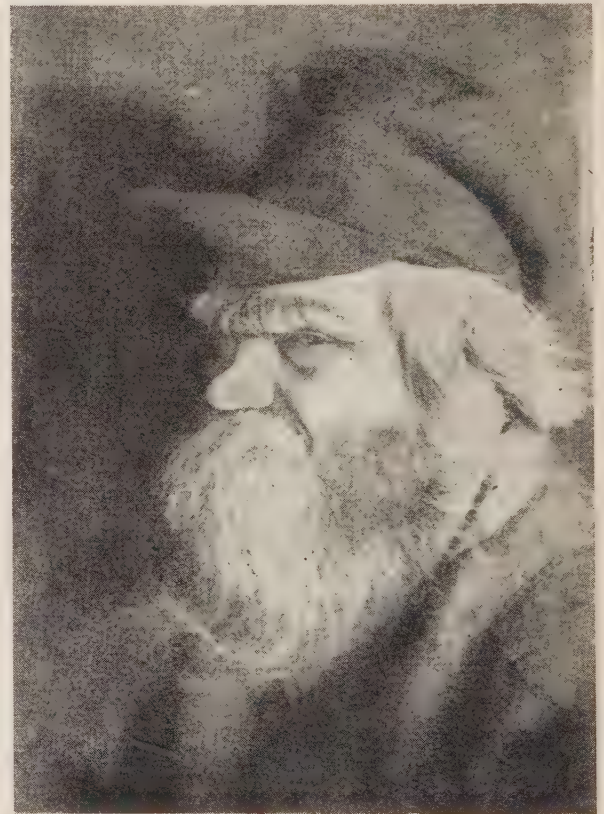
"Oh, my dear child! You have reminded me of so much... of that which is long past

...I thought then that everything would be so much better than it has turned out to be."

Suddenly Prince K.'s jerky words, which he himself may forget a minute hence, bring a picture of this pitiful old man's life before the audience.

He wishes to rise and cannot. "But help me up!" the lovelorn prince cries to Maria Alexandrovna. At this point you no longer think of the grotesque, of the filigree-finesse of the mise-en-scene. As performed by Khmelyov, Prince K., "the creaking skeleton," the grotesque, fantastic apparition, is first and foremost an old, pitiable and ridiculous man to whom a tragicomical, disgraceful and sad thing has happened. He is a palpable figure in whom the traits of the grotesque are the traits of life itself.

The prince takes a nap after his stormy confession of love. When he wakes up, the cunning young Mozglyakov, Zina's rejected suitor, persuades him that Zina's songs and his own confession of love are merely a



Silan—from "The Ardent Heart"

dream. The prince is convinced easily enough and the marriage between him and Zina is off. The whole story might only arouse laughter and, perhaps, a slight feeling of pity for the prince, if not for his comment: "All the same, it was an enchanting dream, an en-chan-ting dream!"

Khmelyov puts so much longing and such pensive tenderness into these words that no trace of the "grotesque" is left. Has the caustic satire, the merciless irony intrinsic in the interpretation of this decrepit aristocrat disappeared? Not at all. But with two or three touches Khmelyov has convinced us that his prince is not an invention, not a puppet, and that the point of the story told from the stage does not lie in the anecdote about "the creaking skeleton."

Here you have the real Art Theatre. Of course, we have presented the matter somewhat schematically, because nuances of the "second half" also appear in the "first half" of Khmelyov's role. The division into halves is quite arbitrary. Properly speaking, the



Alexei Turbin—from *"The Days of the Turbins"*



Peklevanov—from *"The Armoured Train"*

"first" and "second" halves of the role are that very play of light and shadow that Stanislavsky taught his pupils to seek. Is there any need to say that this has nothing in common with the banal and foolish discussions about a balance between "good and evil", a practice that Stanislavsky never advocated in general; that we are talking here about the Shakespearean ability to see life in all its manifestations, in all its depth and complexity, in all the brilliance of its many colours. Let us again recall the words from Stanislavsky's book, those wonderful, clever words:

"You are acting a mope, and you mope all the time, your only worry evidently being that God forbid you fail to get your portrait of a mope across. But why should you worry about this when the author himself has already done more than enough about it? The consequence is that you paint with the same colour all the time, forgetting that black

becomes real black only when white is introduced here and there for contrast. That is what you must do: introduce a tiny bit of white in various shades and combinations with other colours of the rainbow. That will give you contrast, variety and truth."

There are actors and actresses in the Moscow Art Theatre whose very make-up both psychological and physical—is such as to suggest the choice of roles for them, and their interpretation and presentation on the stage. Take Dobronravov, for instance. This actor knows his capacities very well. He makes excellent use of them and makes every role a part of himself, adapting it to his splendid talents as an actor. That is why it is so easy to see Dobronravov himself in every one of the characters he portrays on the stage. The hero whom he portrays must necessarily be charming, as Dobronravov is himself, otherwise the role seems alien and unappealing.

If, however, we try to build up a picture of Khmelyov's stage personality from the roles he has played, we find the result extremely strange, and, at first glance, incomprehensible.

The following is an incomplete list of the roles played by Khmelyov in the Art Theatre:
1922/23—Fire (*Blue Bird*, Maeterlinck).

1924/25—Golovin (*Tsar Fyodor Ioannovich*, Alexei Tolstoi), inn servant (*The Inspector*, Gogol), Kostylev (*The Lower Depths*, Gorky), Prince Vasilii Shuisky (*Tsar Fyodor Ioannovich*), Mamayev's lackey (*There's a Bit of the Fool in Every Wise Man*, Ostrovsky), Petrushka (*Wit Works Woe*, Griboyedov).

1925/26—Marei (*The Pugachev Rebellion*, K. Trenov), Silan (*Ardent Heart*, Ostrovsky).

1926/27—Alexei Turbin (*The Days of the Turbins*, Bulgakov).

1927/28—Peklevanov (*The Armoured Train*, Vsevolod Ivanov).

1929/30—Prince K. (*The Dream of a Queer Fellow*, adapted from Dostoyevsky), Kryltsov (*Resurrection*, adapted from Leo Tolstoy).

1930/31—Basyi (*The Marriage of Figaro*, Beaumarchais), the 2nd judge (*Resurrection*, adapted from Leo Tolstoy).

1932/33—Firs (*The Cherry Orchard*, Anton Chekhov).

1935/36—Tsar Fyodor (*Tsar Fyodor Ioannovich*), Skrobotov (*Enemies*, Maxim Gorky).

1936/37—Karenin (*Anna Karenina*, adapted from Leo Tolstoy).

1937/38—Storozhev (*Land*, Nikolai Vinta).

1940—Tuzenbach (*The Three Sisters*, Anton Chekhov).

Even if we put aside the question of the roles in which he appeared merely as an understudy and which mark no highlights in his career, we are still struck by the amazing variety and dissimilarity of the dramatic material upon which he worked independently as a mature actor. This variety was fully reflected in the performances he gave in what may be called the real "Khmelyov" roles. These are: Silan, Turbin, Peklevanov, Prince K., Skrobotov, Karenin, Storozhev and Tuzenbach, and we may add to them his brilliant and original work as an understudy of "Fyodor."

Can we find any psychological traits common to all these creations of Khmelyov's imagination and skill?

Let us recall some of the finest bits from his best roles.

Alexei Alexandrovich Karenin (*Anna Karenina*, adapted from the novel by Leo Tolstoy). The external appearance of this character is described by Tolstoy with such devastating irony that it would seem there was nothing left for the actor but to carry out the author's remarks to the letter. Tolstoy, who loved life, who rejoiced in Anna Karenina's eyes and her way of carrying herself, and in Steva Oblonsky's smile, described Alexei Karenin with a certain brutal precision, as though he had long and intently scrutinized this intolerable, stony-hearted, boring, malevolent man who had been as much of a plague to him as to Anna Karenina. He looks upon this man with the thick-lobed ears, upon this intolerable moralist who feels that he is the master of life, with the eyes of Anna Karenina, with the eyes of a woman. "A malevolent machine" is his exhaustive description of him.

Khmelyov, however, only begins where this description leaves off. For the actor who works on this role it forms the "point of departure" but not the recipe or formula which exhausts all the possibilities of the character. Khmelyov had a good understanding of Tolstoy's bold and profound concept.

Here is what he himself related about his conception of Karenin's character: "... He is a machine, but he lives his own peculiar life in Tolstoy's immortal work... From the standpoint of the canons of his kind he is clever and honest and noble-minded. His desolate soul is swept by a whirlwind of

emotions and passions intrinsic only to himself, which shake the very essence of this "malevolent automaton". Not as a "malevolent machine" but as a man who has become such, a man with a heart, nerves, brain, a man doomed to the cruel suffering that his cleverly devised armour could not protect him from—that is how Khmelyov, in full conformity with Tolstoy's concept, portrays Karenin.

The audience has just seen Karenin in Betsy Tverskaya's drawing-room, where he paced the room with measured, mechanical steps, preached to everyone in his insufferably tutorial tone, employing the suave voice of the self-satisfied, successful official who has the right to set himself up as a judge. He lives comfortably within his shell, talks in standard, trite phrases, measures the room with his precise steps. At the scene of the races the audience sees an altogether different Karenin, although this "other" can be glimpsed as yet only in the barely perceptible break in his voice, in the exaggerated precision of his diction, in his tightly compressed lips, in the shaking of his head. Anna confesses her love for Vronsky to Karenin. Khmelyov is extremely restrained, there is no affectation whatever in his acting, yet he succeeds in showing even so early that under the hard crust, Karenin's heart has felt a twinge, that now Karenin is employing mechanical words, gestures and intonations as armour to protect himself from the blows that life deals him. Such is Khmelyov's interpretation of the subtext of the extremely restrained dialogue in this scene, in which Karenin seems to be as selfconfident, as convinced of the wisdom and fitness of his words as ever. He dictates his conditions to Anna, he strives to preserve his dignity and self-possession, taking care to conceal his own pain and anguish, and trying to give vent to his contemptuous consternation and indignation at Anna's behaviour.

But life mercilessly inflicts one new blow after another upon Karenin. There is nowhere for him to hide, his armour cannot protect him, because it is life itself, and not Anna Karenina, that is punishing this stolid, self-satisfied official. However, he still stands firm on his feet. He delivers one lecture after another to Anna; he tries to play first on her feelings as a mother, then on the moral standards habitual to her as a woman of society,



Tsar Fyodor—from "Tsar Fyodor Ioannovich"

and at last, on her feeling of pity for him, Karenin.

All these attempts are fruitless. That is how Khmelyov brings his role up to its culminating point—to the "reconciliation scene." This is the most profound and most "Khmelyovian" spot in the whole production.

...Karenin's legs give way under him. He gets down to his knees before Anna's bed.

This, of course, is an exceedingly difficult scene for an actor to perform. It is probably the most paradoxical situation in the whole play, and many of the directors who produced *Anna Karenina* in the provinces debated whether it might not be best for them to omit this scene entirely. It is, of course, impossible to cross it out; it must be correctly interpreted.

Tolstoy explained Karenin's "kneeling" in the minutest detail. "If it is a hoax, show calm contempt, and leave immediately. If



Skrobotov—from "Enemies"

true, then observe the decencies," Karenin tells himself when he receives Anna's telegram that she is dying. It is with these thoughts that he approaches the mansion on the Neva embankment where Anna lies on her deathbed. He goes to her only to observe the decencies laid down by Christian morals and the social code. But here again life broke Karenin.

He desires Anna's death with all his soul. But in her delirium she remarks that he will take care of Seryozha, that Seryozha's eyes are exactly like his. "No, no," she moans, "I am not afraid of him, I am afraid of death." Tolstoy even has the following exquisite detail; while she is in a coma Anna's eyes rest on Karenin with more emotion, more ecstatic tenderness that he ever saw in them before. Only in delirium did Anna ever present him with such a glance. And then she

says: "No, you cannot forgive! I know, it is unforgivable! No, no, go away, you are too good!"

The extent of his own suffering told Karenin still more. Watching Anna's torments as she lay dying, he thought of his own grief, of his own great defeat and disgrace. He broke down and wept and fell upon his knees before Anna.

Khmelyov could not tell the audience about Anna's glance, but he showed how the armour that protected Karenin from life was shattered, and how weak and pitiful this malevolent and narrow-minded man really was at bottom.

What was it then, his pity for Anna or the fullness of his own grief, the bitterness of his own defeat, that made Karenin-Khmelyov kneel at Anna's bedside? The latter, of course. When Anna subsequently recovered, not a trace of his "reconciliation" was left. It could not have been otherwise.

Again the wheels of the "malevolent machine" began to turn, and Karenin's heartlessness became even more monstrous.

Did the image of the "malevolent machine" disappear in the "reconciliation" scene? No. Khmelyov merely revealed its intricate construction.

*

"...Don't worry, Masha. It will all work out. It is raining again. My throat is sore; I've had a cold for three days now. The Chinese can't even make handkerchiefs properly. This is more like a sun setting over the ocean than a handkerchief. A handkerchief ought to be a modest affair..."

This is the Bolshevik Peklevanov in Vsevolod Ivanov's play *The Armoured Train* rather lazily and pensively discoursing about colds and handkerchiefs at the very moment when a ring of spies is closing in upon him and his rescue or death are a matter of moments. His wife's anxiety sets off his magnificent self-possession, for this monologue of Peklevanov's about colds and tea is, of course, nothing but the usual emphasis of the Moscow Art Theatre on the subtext of the dialogue.

What methods did Khmelyov employ to produce his remarkable effects in the small role of Peklevanov? He played a strongwilled, courageous and clever man, but he built his role up on the contrast between these qualities of Peklevanov's and his deliberate man-

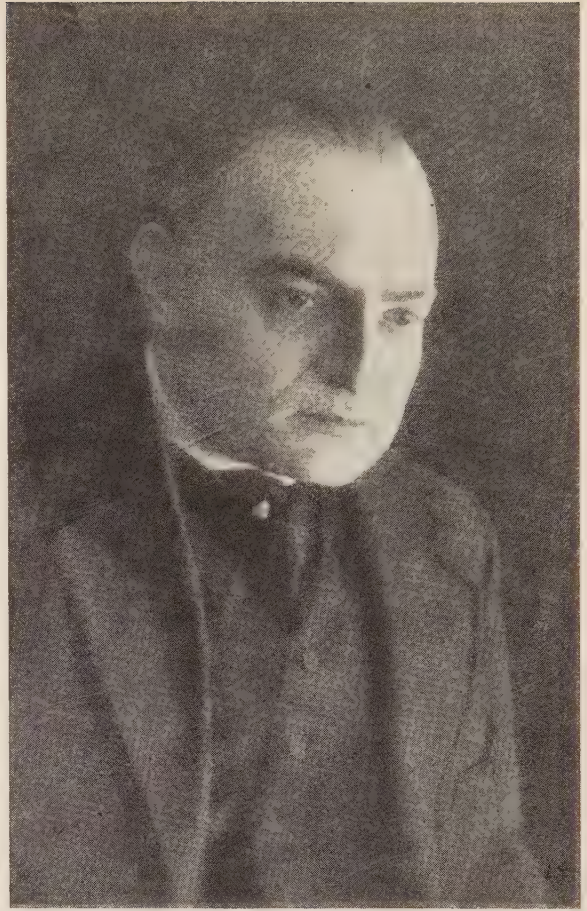
ner of walking and talking, his contemplative air, goodnatured mind and even, I should say, his eccentricity. The contrast between the importance of the events that take place and the trivial conversation about handkerchiefs, between Peklevanov's strength of will and his deliberate mannerisms, the contrast between the retarded rhythm of the whole episode and the precipitancy of its finale with its violent action—these are what the magnificent dramatic effect of Khmelyov's acting in *The Armoured Train* was built upon. There is hardly any need to mention that this was not merely a clever trick on Khmelyov's part but his logical and truthful portrayal of a living human being.

"I worked on this role," said Khmelyov, "at the time when Bolsheviks were still invariably presented on the stage as dressed in leather jackets. I had only two short, but very profound scenes, in which I had to portray a revolutionary. I found the kernel of the role by the analytical method. All declamatory effects were rejected. Peklevanov made his entrances on the stage modestly, spoke in a quiet tone, was near-sighted and seemed somewhat eccentric, but his external unsociableness hid his purposefulness, cleverness, and gentle spirit."

In this, one of his earliest roles, Khmelyov made skilful use of the method—let us call it conditionally the method of contrast—which he later began to employ so confidently and brilliantly.

When you really come down to it, is not the role of Prince K. in *The Dream of a Queer Fellow* built up in the same manner? The Prince's ridiculous appearance, the complete vacuity of his expression, his absurd movements and gestures, all suddenly countered by marvellous, musing words: "Oh, it was an enchanting dream!"—spoken with an intonation that utterly shatters our visual impressions and perceptions.

The Days of the Turbins by Bulgakov. Khmelyov as Alexei Turbin. He has the military carriage and stride of an officer, the erect, tailored appearance of a man accustomed to bearing arms. He is evidently a strong-willed and purposeful man. Among his crestfallen, depressed companions-in-arms—whiteguard officers—Alexei Turbin stands out as a strong commander, the only one capable of holding the rest, who had turned into an undisciplined band.



Karenin—from "Anna Karenina"

Khmelyov proceeds to show the audience Alexei Turbin's inner state, his doubts and anguish. His anguish springs from his own disbelief in the unpopular cause which he upholds, from his contempt for his companions; it is the anguish of hopelessness and solitude. His cause is lost and it is senseless and purposeless to fight any further; there is no longer any need for his military bearing and concise commands; these have become merely an absurd pose, a child's game. All that remains is an inglorious end. In this role, too, Khmelyov found vivid, truthful and contrasting colours, thanks to which Turbin is an organic living being in the play and his character is humanly comprehensible to the audience.

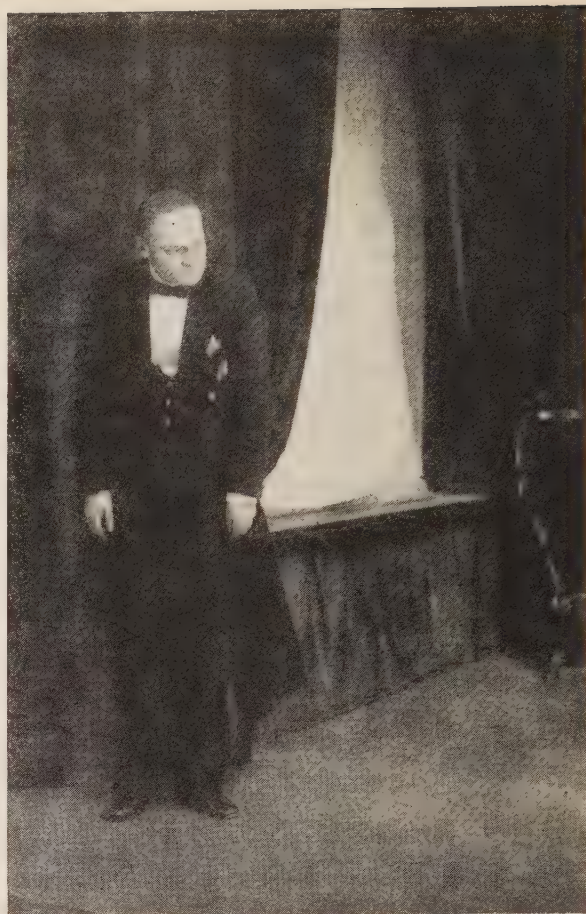
An attorney Skrobotov in *Enemies*, by Maxim Gorky. Khmelyov is extremely elegant, exaggeratedly careful of his appearance. In

Khmelyov's portrayal this external elegance seems to spring from his morbidly painful desire to conceal his spiritual poverty, the vileness and lowness of his essence.

In 1935 the Moscow Art Theatre revived its production of the historical tragedy *Tsar Fyodor Ioannovich* by A. K. Tolstoy. The theatre opened with this play in 1898, and Ivan Moskvina won fame by his performances of the title role. In 1935 the role of Fyodor was entrusted to Khmelyov.

This role was one of the most difficult Khmelyov ever attempted, but it also came to be his favourite. In his interpretation of Tsar Fyodor he shattered certain obsolete traditions of the theatre. Khmelyov's creative initiative was supported by Nemirovich-Danchenko, who altered almost all the mises-en-scene in the play and supported the new performer's tendency towards greater austerity in his portrayal of the main character. One of the best traditions of the Moscow Art Theatre is that it always recognizes the actor's right to seek his own interpretations. Moskvina himself agreed with Khmelyov's interpretation and helped him with advice.

It was Khmelyov's opinion that Fyodor could not be shown merely as a blissful, weak-willed, devout tsar. In him there flowed



Karenin—from "Anna Karenina"



Karenin and Anna at the Races—from "Anna Karenina"

the blood of his formidable father—Ivan IV. Impotence and stormy attempts at active interference in life were both characteristic of him. His was the tragedy of the good man who thinks to destroy the evil in the world by his own personal efforts, without winning the support of the popular masses. Fyodor's cherished dream is: "we have to make it so that here in Russia people may live more freely than anywhere else," and every time he comes up against irremovable obstacles in the realization of his ideals, he becomes frantic. "Am I or am I not the tsar? The tsar, or not the tsar?" Khmelyov-Fyodor's guttural, somewhat hoarse outcry is a protest and a challenge to the brutal world which does not want to understand him and which he does not understand. The son of Ivan the Terrible may be recognized in the shattering nervous



Tuzenbach—from "*The Three Sisters*"

force of these brief, quickly subsiding outflares.

It was the integral quality of this character rather than its duality that suggested these colours to Khmelyov. Without them the character of Fyodor Ioannovich would be incomplete, colourless and monotonous.

Fyodor-Khmelyov wanders about his chambers weary unto death, thirsting for but never finding rest, bearing the impress of oppressive torment. He has a spiritual appearance: his face is transparently pale, his eyes are deep and gentle, his eyebrows display the drooping curve that comes of much suffering, and his hands are nervous and expressive.

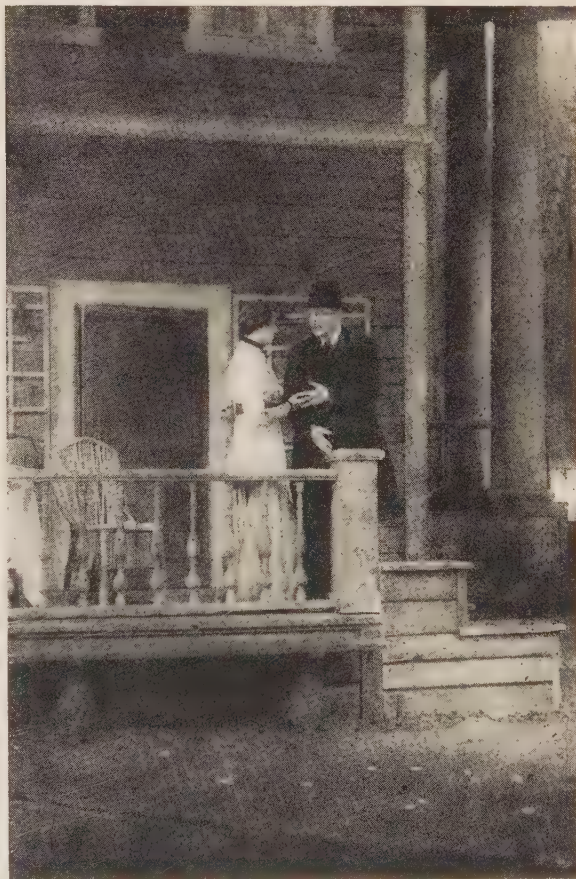
Lion Feuchtwanger, who visited Moscow in 1937, wrote the following about this performance: "What was there about Khmelyov's acting that moved me so much? His voice? His gestures? The mises-en-scene? No, not only this, or, rather, all three of them. The

main feature of Khmelyov's talent is that he lives on the stage... Naturalism and sentimentality are equally alien to him. Fully aware of the responsibility I take upon myself, I declare that in my opinion there is no actor in Western Europe who can compare with Khmelyov."

Khmelyov's restless, artistic mind never rested content with the portraits created by others: he was always the author of his own portraits.

In the spring of 1940 the Moscow Art Theatre presented Chekhov's *The Three Sisters* with a new cast and in a new production by Nemirovich-Danchenko. Khmelyov played the role of Tuzenbach. This role turned out to be one of the highlights of this production as a modern interpretation of Chekhov.

Had Khmelyov chosen to follow traditions in playing Tuzenbach, the audience would have seen merely one more embodiment of a



Tuzenbach and Irina—from "*The Three Sisters*"

rather naive and touching dreamer whose high ideals of labour are no more than illusions which merely indicate the noble qualities of their bearer but have no real ground either in himself or in his environment. Khmelyov's Tuzenbach is richer, more complex and more subtle than the Tuzenbach of the old interpretation. His solitary condition is more distinctly emphasized. At the same time, however, he is not simply in a state of exaltation when he speaks of the happiness of labour, of the "healthy storm" which will come and regenerate Russian life. He believes in this. At first he is still stifled by his uniform, it shackles him; but after he has cast it off and made his first steps along the path of the new life, how lucid is his conviction that not only "it will be so", but that it has already begun to be so.

After seeing Khmelyov's performance, the critic Tomashevsky wrote: "If this Tuzenbach were not killed by a chance bullet, real life would have awakened for him too, and how much more purposeful a man he would have become in the new circle of important and common spiritual interests of the awakening epoch." The more tragic and more telling is the death of such a Tuzenbach.

"A piece of life lived," Lion Feuchtwanger remarked after seeing one of Khmelyov's roles. The play of contradictions in an individual, the secret of the inner springs of his soul, the sudden and unexpected manifestations of his individuality—these were the things that interested Khmelyov in each new role.

His performance of the role of Tsar Ivan IV in Alexei Tolstoy's play *The Difficult Years*, on which he worked throughout the last two years, was to have been a crowning achievement.

Whereas Fyodor, Ivan's son, was portrayed by Khmelyov as a fragile vessel tossed on the stormy waves of an insurgent world, his Ivan stands in the centre of this world, licked by the flames of the tempestuous events amidst which Russ took shape and grew strong. With a force and depth of philosophical and poetical portraiture that was unusual even for him, Khmelyov showed the innermost secret

springs of the spiritual life of Ivan the Terrible, the tsar and the man. Khmelyov found the key to Ivan's character in the closing words of Scene IV (in the Uspensky Cathedral): "We suffer and make others suffer, and overtax our soul and beat our breast in penitence, and that is what we want, for our life lies in great passions, and there is no other life... Such is man."

The premiere of *Ivan the Terrible* was to have taken place on 15 November. The last dress rehearsals were being held. The last finishing touches were being put to the production.

At the rehearsal held on the morning of 1 November, Nikolai Khmelyov played the first act with more than his usual temperament and inspiration. Seated on his throne and surrounded by his "closest man," Tsar Ivan received the Lithuanian ambassador, who came on behalf of his king to propose a humiliating peace to the tsar: the Livonian war would stop if the Moscow tsar would return the ancient Russian towns his troops had reconquered at the price of such heavy sacrifices. Ivan wrathfully rejected the audacious proposal: "Shame and dishonour to me; the whole Russian land hides its face in shame!" The integrity and might of his native land—this was "the great cause for which we live and labour and sweat blood."

The curtain came down slowly. Those present at the rehearsal sat silent, treasuring their impressions of the performance. Khmelyov took off the ceremonial robes that formed part of his costume and remained in a dark cherry-coloured velvet Russian coat. He then descended from the stage into the auditorium. The stage began to turn slowly as it was shifted for the next scene, the tsar's bedroom.

Tsar Ivan, however, as acted by Khmelyov, never entered his bedroom again. Khmelyov never again appeared on the stage, for during this intermission he suffered a stroke and died.

Nikolai Khmelyov died in the theatre, while at work, a warrior on the front of art, which was to him the purpose of his whole life. This exploit he performed for the sake of his people.

REMINISCENCES OF ILF AND PETROV

By Victor Ardon

1

SOMETIME before the war I happened to be talking to a young writer in the editorial offices of the *Crocodile*. I started telling him about a certain trick of the trade that Ilf had used in his writing. The budding author looked at me with a certain awe and asked:

"Did you know Ilf...?"

That was just three years after Ilya Ilf had died. Now eight years have passed since his death, while his collaborator, Eugene Petrov, was killed in 1942, during the war.

Neither the war nor the fifteen years that have elapsed since the appearance of their second novel—*The Golden Calf*—have lessened the affection people harbour for these two writers. Libraries still have waiting lists for the much worn copies of *The Golden Calf* and *Twelve Chairs*.

It so happened that I was a close friend of both of these humourists, and it seems to me that the time has come for me to put down in writing all that I remember about them. I am afraid that if I do not write it down now, some of these previous memories will fade. My earnest desire is that my reminiscences will give the reader an idea of the striking personalities of these two writers, both of whom died so young.

2

One day in the summer of 1923 my acquaintance Valentin Kataev, already a well-known writer, met me on the street and introduced me to his brother. At the words "Meet my brother Eugene..." I took notice of his companion—a young fellow—very young—who resembled Kataev. Eugene was then about twenty-one years old. He did not seem very sure of himself and looked much what he was—a provincial lad who had just landed in the capital. Keen black eyes, slightly

slanting, observed me with a certain mistrust. Eugene was lanky and in comparison with his brother, was shabbily dressed. As far as I remember, neither one of us evinced any particular interest in the other. I exchanged a few words with Kataev and we went our separate ways...

I probably met Eugene on several other occasions but I have no recollection of them. The next time I remember him is as the secretary of the editorial board of the magazine *Red Pepper* in 1925. Valentin Kataev had run the magazine at one time and on relinquishing the job, had turned it over to his brother.

This time Eugene no longer gave the impression of being a hayseed. On the contrary, in an amazingly short time he had become a very efficient editor, with a mastery of the entire publishing process. This experience stood him in good stead later when he became editor-in-chief of the magazine *Ogonyek*. Here he immediately began to write feuilletons and text for cartoons. His things were usually signed with the pseudonyms *Gogolesque* or *Foreigner Fedorov* or with the name *Petrov*, taken from his patronymic. Since at that time his elder brother Valentin was making a sensation in Moscow literary circles under his own name of Kataev, Eugene felt it would be tactful and would avoid confusion if he assumed a different name. And so he became *Petrov*.

In those years Petrov wrote only in a humorous vein, with a tremendous range of imagination which was to come to full maturity in his famous novels. These early writings were full of an innate, spontaneous humour. The feuilletons followed the traditional pattern, with light and amusing dialogue, comical exaggerations and strained interpretations.

I once happened to watch Petrov write one of his regular feuilletons sitting at his desk in the editorial office. If my memory does not play me false, he was writing it with the journalist A. Kozachinsky. His co-author, however, only laughed and nodded his head while Petrov thought up things to write, enjoying himself immensely in the process, bursting into laughter every minute and grabbing his collaborator by the arm. I can still see them, black-haired Petrov, young and jolly, laughing as he drummed on the table in rhythm with the phrases he read, his palms taut and his thumbs up... And his co-author, laughing even harder and saying:

"That's it! That's right... Go ahead!"

And Petrov wrote down the phrase, twitching his angular black brows, then relaxing into a smile as he started another phrase.

"He goes into the garden and the same agent is sitting behind the bushes and starts persuading him all over again..."

Again hearty laughter from Petrov and his collaborator.

How radiant, carefree and jolly he was then! He remained good-natured and good fun, able to appreciate humour in everything—in words, gestures, intonations and action to the very end, though the almost physical sense of gaiety which is a mark of youth, disappeared as he grew more mature.

3

In 1928 the editorial offices of the magazine *Laughter-maker* (*Smekhach*) were transferred from Leningrad to Moscow. At one of the meetings of the new editorial board in Moscow I noticed a stranger sitting next to Petrov. He was a young fellow with dark curly hair, high cheek bones, an unusually clear rosy complexion to which blushes came easily. He wore pince-nez which tended to diminish his large prominent eyes. He had a wide mouth and a heavy chin. He seemed to be on an intimate footing with Petrov and they kept talking in undertones during the meeting.

Since I knew all the other people at the meeting I followed the unceremonious procedure accepted at such gatherings of humourists and walked right up to the stranger saying:

"And who may you be?"

The young man reddened, showing his shyness (a quality that he never lost, by the way). It was Petrov who answered for him.

"That's Ilf. Don't you know him?"

"No..."

I did know Ilf by name, however. I had read something or other of his. But I had never met him because at that time he was working on the newspaper *The Whistle* (*Gudok*) and I had very little contact with its staff. We made friends very easily. Ilf had heard a little about me and had even been with Petrov to the play *Article No. 114* at the Moscow Theatre of Satire, which I had written in collaboration with Lev Nikulin.

At that time *Twelve Chairs*¹ was already written. That was the topic of the conversation between the two writers during the meeting. I knew nothing of the existence of the novel at that time. It had not been published in one of the "swanky" magazines but in a comparatively breezy illustrated monthly called *Thirty Days*.

The reading public enthusiastically acclaimed the novel. It made an instantaneous and tremendous hit. The most effective spots in the novel and such expressions as "man-eater Ellochka," "the naked engineer," the "poet Gabriel," "the rescuing of drowning persons is the affair of the drowning persons themselves," etc. were the talk of the town. It was from the "man in the street," the ordinary rank-and-file reader, that I first heard about *Twelve Chairs*. I got hold of the book, read it at one swallow, so to speak, and enjoyed it immensely.

The magazine *Ogonyek* ordered a story called *A Radiant Personality* from the two authors and began to print it. This story was written on the spur of the moment but it contained much that was humorous and pointedly satiric.

4

At the beginning of 1929 a new satirical magazine called *Queer Bird* (*Chudak*) began to appear in the place of *The Laughter-maker*. It was in this magazine that Ilf and Petrov first began to write under the pen name of F. Tolstoyevsky. This was the name they signed to a series of excellent stories about life in Kolokolamsk, an imaginary city of their own invention. Some of these stories but by no means all of them have been collected in book form. The stories were illustrated by a delightful map giving all the details of the mythical city of Kolokolamsk. The whole series was a

¹ Published abroad under the title *Diamonds To Sit On*.

well-aimed blow at the idiocy of petty bourgeois life.

Later when several of the things from *The Queer Bird* were reprinted in book form under the signature of Ilf and Petrov, the *Literaturnaya Gazeta* received a letter from a perturbed reader accusing Ilf and Petrov of stealing the stories from F. Tolstoyevsky.

5

Our joint work on the magazine *The Queer Bird* brought me into close contact with both Ilf and Petrov. I often went to see Petrov at his flat on Kropotkinsky Pereulok. There is a fairly accurate description of this flat in *The Golden Calf* under the title of *The Crow's Nest*. Petrov first used this name for his flat and later put it into his novel. There I met the *Nobody's Grandmother* who was afraid of electricity and used a kerosene lamp in her room, a "toiling ex-Oriental Georgian Prince" and many other personages who figured in *The Golden Calf*.

I also used to drop in to see Ilf in his room in Soimonovsky Proyezd, and later I visited the two of them in their apartments in the "Writers House" on Naschekinsky Pereulok (now Furmanov Street). Often I would find them hard at work, at first on *The Golden Calf*, later feuilletons for *Pravda* and then scenarios and other things. It sometimes happened that I collaborated with the two of them in doing odd literary jobs.

People often asked Ilf and Petrov and their friends how the two of them worked.

Ilf usually answered:

"There are two questions that I hear several times a day and they drive me crazy. First—how I write with Petrov and second why my lips are black..." (Ilf had a birthmark on his lower lip.)

Everybody knows how Ilf and Petrov once replied to the inevitable question about their joint work:

"This is how we write. One of us stands guard over our manuscripts and the other makes the round of the editorial offices."

I can testify, however, that they really wrote together and that they really worked hard. The technical process of writing was done by Petrov. He usually sat at his desk and wrote line after line in his fine, even hand. It seemed impossible that anyone could write anything in the narrow space he left between the lines but he managed, when necessary, to

squeeze in two more lines of corrections or additions and to do it in the same legible, clear hand.

Ilf in the meantime would either sit in an easy chair or pace the room, mechanically twisting the curly knot of hair on his forehead...

Each of the collaborators enjoyed the right of veto. Not a single word or a single phrase (to say nothing of the development of the plot or the manner of narrating a certain part) could be written down until both authors were in perfect agreement. Their disagreements often developed into heated arguments and even shouts (especially on the part of Petrov). But when the finished material was actually written down, it was like cast metal, perfectly executed and complete both in form and in idea. Sometimes as many as five or ten different versions were rejected before the two of them hit upon the right one. Two or three hours' work might result in only a few lines of finished text. And how much time went on drawing up plans, and in conceiving each character. But no matter how much time all this took, the two authors were faithful to their method.

Their conscientiousness was also evident in the amount of material which they packed into their books. Petrov once said to me:

"We put enough observations, ideas, plots and people in our two novels for ten books. We just can't be economical..."

And that was the honest truth. Yet there is nothing superfluous in their books and there are no so-called "weak spots"—i. e. places where the author tries to bluff his way through something that he really knows nothing about or that is beyond his strength.

6

Both friends supplemented and enhanced their literary talent by working together. It is interesting that Ilf without Petrov, like Petrov without Ilf, wrote worse than Ilf and Petrov together. Why was this so? Because Ilf lacked Petrov's directness, his love for hearty, prosaic humour and his love for light, comic dialogue. Ilf's contribution to the partnership was his taste, his wit and the caustic force of his satirical analysis.

The writer B. Shklovsky gave a very apt definition of the role of each of these writers in their joint work. He said:



Ilya Ilf and Eugene Petrov

"If we compare them with concrete, Petrov will be the gravel and Ilf the cement.

"It is the combination of these two components which make the mixture so strong."

In all probability even their very first creative contact was not mere accident. True, it took place in youth when people strike up friendships very easily. But there must have been some strong bonds of affinity between them for their first joint work was a long novel and not merely a feuilleton of two or three pages. As the years passed this collaboration grew into a friendship that was almost unexampled. Ilf and Petrov themselves jokingly drew a parallel between their collaboration and that of the Goncourts. In my opinion such a comparison is quite warranted. In both cases a method of thinking that may be termed "a Siamese twin method" was developed by the time the authors were in their "thirties." Ilf and Petrov spent ten to twelve hours of the day together and became

accustomed to sharing every thought of any importance. Petrov once said to me:

"I always try to see Ilf as early in the morning as possible in order to tell him everything that has come into my mind during the evening and night."

Their prolonged collaboration brought the two friends to the point at which they shared a single world outlook, a single taste and a single style. Take their last book *Little Golden America*. In his preface to Ilf's *Notebooks* Petrov remarks that seven of the chapters were written in collaboration, twenty by Ilf alone while twenty-one were his. Try as you will, however, it is impossible to find any trace of the seams in this book. It is absolutely integral both in style and content. In *Twelve Chairs* and even in *The Golden Calf* we, their intimate friends were still able to guess, and quite easily, which of the authors had written which part.

The best estimation of their friendship is that given by Petrov in his preface to Ilf's *Notebooks*. Referring to an argument he had had with Ilf, Petrov writes:

"In general, we rarely quarrelled, and when we did it was about purely literary questions—some turn of phrase or some adjective. But this time it was a real quarrel, with shouting on both sides, swearing and vicious accusations. Perhaps it was because we were both nervous and overtired, or perhaps it had something to do with the mortal illness that Ilf was already suffering from, but which neither he nor I even suspected at that time. We argued for a couple of hours, a long time for us. Suddenly, right in the middle of the argument, we began to laugh. It was very strange, crazy, improbable—but we laughed, and it was not hysterical laughter, not the strained, forced laughter that requires smelling salts to quiet. It was simply ordinary, wholesome laughter. Later we confessed that the same thought had occurred to each of us at the same time—that we simply could not quarrel; it was useless. Whatever happened, we could not separate. How could a writer who had been in existence for ten years and had written half a dozen books suddenly vanish from the face of the earth just because the two people who formed this personality had quarrelled like a couple of housewives over a kitchen stove?

"So the evening that began so ominously ended up in a heart-to-heart talk."

I can still see the two of them—Ilf, sitting

somewhere at a meeting in an editorial office or perhaps in the theatre, leaning back in his chair while the talkative Petrov is whispering something in his ear, something that has just occurred to him. Ilf listens very seriously, even critically, his eyes fixed on the ceiling and his face gradually breaking into a smile. The smile turns into laughter. He stops suddenly and in the serious tone of a staid literary critic says:

"That's funny!" He had an amusing way of saying "That's funny!" almost like a threat, without the trace of a smile on his face.

Then he would turn and whisper something in Petrov's ear, developing and supplementing the idea that Petrov had suggested.

Immediately Petrov is convulsed with laughter. Perhaps the idea that they are working on will appear in tomorrow's feuilleton or in some future scenario or play.

7

Ilf and Petrov often went for long walks just to have a chance to think and talk. The initiative for these walks came from Ilf but it was not long before he had Petrov converted to the habit. I often saw them strolling along Gogol Boulevard as if they had not a care in the world when in reality they were engaged in the most serious work. They were thinking over what they were going to write and what they had written. Both of them felt a keen sense of responsibility. Time and again in their talks and thoughts they came back to their published books, criticising or approving of them, judging the influence they had had—good or bad—on the people for whom they had been written.

When Ilf died Petrov kept on with these morning walks for a while. Sometimes he would drop in to see old friends and one morning he paid me this honor (I was living at the Writers' House on Lavrushinsky Pereulok at the time). He was all dressed up and beaming with good will as always (in fact the expression "beaming with good will" fits Petrov better than anyone else I know).

"Come on, lazy bones," he said, "you ought to be out walking. Walking, that's what you ought to be doing!"

He was insistent:

"Why not take a walk? Why not?"

"Why" was a favourite word with him and he pronounced it with an unexpected Caucasian accent.

We started walking down Lavrushinsky Pereulok and crossed the new Kamenny Bridge that leads to the Kremlin. The Moscow River, swollen with the additional waters of the Volga, sparkled with spring between its grey granite embankments.

Petrov stopped several times, looking with obvious approval at the view of the capital. Pointing to some detail in the landscape with his inseparable bamboo cane he said,

"Moscow is really getting to look like a big city. It would be hard to find a spot as picturesque as this in other capitals. The Americans would give a lot to have a little Kremlin like ours in Washington... What do you think?"

We came back across the Moskvoretsky Bridge and walked down Bolshaya Ordinka Street which in the course of a single month had been transformed from a quiet corner of old Moskvoretsky into a main thoroughfare traversed by fifty cars a minute. We turned down a side street that had formerly been a blind alley, but had now been widened to lead into the square which shall be built on the corner of Lavrushinsky Pereulok and Bolshoy Tolmachevsky Pereulok.

On the whole Petrov was very much the same as he had been when he used to walk with Ilf. The only difference was that he was not particularly interested in my thoughts and opinions. He did most of the talking and criticism and I made little attempt to steer the conversation. I realised that the only thing that I could hope for was to take Ilf's place as a walking companion, and so I was more than willing to put my legs and ears at the disposal of my bereft friend.

After *The Golden Calf* Ilf and Petrov collaborated with Valentin Katayev in writing a play called *Under the Circus Top*. This play provided the plot for the scenario of the film called *The Circus*. The play was produced with great success at the Music Hall Theatre in Moscow and also in Leningrad.

The two friends began writing feuilletons in the *Literaturnaya Gazeta* under the pseudonym of *A While You Wait Philosopher* (an ironic term suggested by the term *A While-You Wait Shoemaker*). They were later invited to contribute feuilletons to the *Pravda* where they wrote under their real names.

All of their feuilletons had one quality in common. The humorous and witty phrases invariably created the impression of a stream of fresh air blowing over whatever subject

they were writing about. This was true whether they were writing about literature or factory management or schools or publishing houses. It was as though a very clever, witty but well-intentioned and well-bred person had walked into the room—and opened the window.

8

The first impression that Ilf invariably made on everyone was that of a very clever person. Very clever. I think I am not mistaken when I say the force of the human mind makes itself felt in something besides the soundness of a person's reactions or opinions. In such cases there is also a feeling that he is a person who can judge phenomena for what they are and who has a sense of their relative value. To put it very crudely, we know some people who can talk about a pimple with as much emotion and for as long a time as if it were the solar system. Ilf's sense of proportion was absolutely flawless, and this quality made it an added pleasure to listen to his opinions. A mutual friend once remarked that Ilf was a very mature, grown-up person. There is much truth in this rather strange assertion. We are not all children, of course, but it is rare to find a person with Ilf's ability to immediately grasp the whole of a thing and in all its profundity. Without letting himself be guided by whims, desires, preconceived likes and dislikes...

It must also be noted here that practically all of Ilf's waking hours not spent in working were spent in reading. He devoured books—political, economic, historical and, of course, fiction. He read ten or twelve newspapers a day. Everything that had happened and was happening on the earth was of vital interest to him.

I remember his telling me his opinion about a book he had just finished. It was a volume containing the telegraph code of the tsarist army—a ponderous tome which would have seemed the most boring book on earth to anyone but Ilf. But he had read it thoroughly, and when he started talking about it you began to believe that it must indeed be interesting if it could arouse such interesting and varied ideas in Ilf.

In his reminiscences of Ilf, Lev Nikulin remarks that he had once told him about the play *Port Arthur* that Nikulin was then in the process of writing. Ilf immediately gave him a long list of documentary material on the

Russo-Japanese War which he had read simply for his own pleasure.

I repeat that Ilf was interested in everything that occurred in the world and particularly in his own country. He thought and expressed opinions on so many facts and phenomena that the range of his interests took one's breath away.

Perhaps what I have said may create the impression that Ilf was a walking encyclopedia and that he was an impartial judge of everything he came in contact with. Ilf was least of all one of those people who, convinced of their own extraordinary talents, supply answers to every problem. Ilf's eagerness to know about everything stemmed from a tremendous intellectual curiosity. As a writer, he had to work out the main aspects of his attitude toward Soviet life and toward the world in general. He was not one of those who have two conceptions of the world, one for himself and the other for his readers and the censors. Ilf's books in addition to all their other good qualities, are the works of a supremely honest writer.

My attempt to analyse the real Ilf, Ilf the thinker, suffers from the fact that I must present the elements which go to make up this tremendous and singular intellect one at a time. I am constantly obliged to insert corrections and remind my readers that the whole thing is much more complicated than it seems. I have so far said nothing about one of the most salient traits of Ilf's personality—his sense of humour. It is an aspect of his character which throws a new light on everything I have already described, for humour was indeed something intrinsic to Ilf. There is no need for me to write an appreciation of this talent. I need only say that Ilf's sense of humour was of the type we writers call organic. A professional humourist soon learns that there are certain time-tried recipes for amusing readers and audiences. In most cases the humour concocted by these recipes has little to do with the author's own ideas. There is, however, another type of humour in which the comic element stems from the essence of the idea, from the author's opinions or else from the author's imagination. This is organic humour. It creates the unexpected and the new. It not only provokes laughter, but bears a critical relationship to whatever it touches. Ilf was exceptionally gifted with this organic humour, a talent which he retained throughout his life.

Ilf's humour lent charm to everything he said. Readers of Ilf and Petrov's books completely miss the humour of intonations that existed in his living speech. I have mentioned Ilf's sense of proportion. He used intonation as a most expressive medium for establishing the relationship of one object to another. His irony found expression not only in words but in the lift of his voice, in the expression on his face, in a smile. There was also the "humour of absurdity," little of which found its way into Ilf's books. This type of humour derives in part from the incongruities which a humourist observes in life. Take, for instance, the famous phrase "I shall lead the parade." This phrase has already become almost proverbial but we can remember how Ilf took it from the serious context of official documents and amused himself for a long time by repeating it in all possible ways. Later it was used in *The Golden Calf* where it evoked laughter from thousands of readers.

In general, the wit which Ostap Bender so brilliantly displays in both novels is largely the wit of Ilf himself. We have all met many such manipulators as Bender in our lives but somehow none of them seems to have had such a highly developed sense of humour. Ilf and Petrov generously endowed their hero with a quality which they themselves possessed in such abundance.

Since these lines were written, Ilf's *Note-Books* have been published. The entries give the reader some idea of Ilf's wit. As is well known, Ilf's *Notebooks* made a tremendous hit with the reading public. It was the last opportunity for his many readers to delight in the inexhaustible wit of this writer who died such an untimely death. Many of the things contained in the notebooks I heard from Ilf himself. They were not utterances revised and adapted for publication. Ilf thought and spoke just as brilliantly as he wrote.

I have met many people in my life who could command the attention of a social gathering, even the most exacting one. Ilf was one of them. He was a very original, in fact an inimitable story teller. His turns of phrase, his restrained mimicry, and his subtle and unobtrusive intonations instantly showed him to be a master writer. It was a joy to listen to the polished phrases that he used even when talking, the details either observed or brilliantly invented to embellish the precise

idea of the whole story. The most prosaic facts acquired a deep meaning and trenchancy on his lips. To Ilf's friends and acquaintances his talk was like a finished work of art.

9

During his frequent walks, which were often undertaken in a more or less "professional capacity," Ilf used to drop in to see his friends and acquaintances. Many times his tall figure loomed in the doorway of my apartment. He would come in, say something exquisitely ironical by way of greeting and sit down. It never took long for the conversation to get started as Ilf was always full of impressions. In a single caustic phrase he would kill a bad film. Or he would retell the contents of an article that had caught his attention in some publication most people had never heard of. Or he would poke fun at one of his acquaintances for fussiness, conceit, or sloppy work. Or he would mimic a scene observed on a bus or the street.

Ilf was a good listener as well as a good story-teller. But God help you if you ever told him some vulgar "general opinion," or an old joke, or tried to defend mediocrity. In argument Ilf was invincible. He could beat his opponent with three biting retorts thought up on the spur of the moment but as polished as if taken from a book of aphorisms. More than that, he would get angry and go out for a walk simply because he refused to tolerate empty twaddle and talk that was "not up to the mark."

In his own home Ilf was inclined to be more restrained. The apartment itself, so tastefully furnished and containing his collection of rare objects—a pot-bellied porcelain Buddha, faience lions with a coat of arms, little red horses made by handicraftsmen—showed that this was the habitation of an artist. His wife, Maria Nikolayevna Ilf, is a painter working in oil and Ilf himself both appreciated and understood painting, sculpture and graphic art. His two brothers, incidentally, are both professional artists.

He always seemed most happy at home, sitting on his wide davenport surrounded by books, magazines and newspapers. He was a cordial host. If you had business to talk with him, or if you wanted his advice, you could depend on receiving his careful attention and an immediate answer which would throw new light on your problems. His advice might not

be what you had expected, but it was always wise and indicated the most honourable and uncompromising solution.

10

Ilf's outward appearance was in perfect keeping with his creative work. He was tall and always erect. He lent an air to the clothes he wore. One day when he came to see me the weather changed for the worse and he borrowed my coat to wear home. Watching him from the window, walking away in my coat, I thought to myself,

"Darn it, what a swanky coat I have!"

But of course it was not the coat!

Here is another characteristic touch. Ilf always made out that he was lazy. The fact was that he was much more interested in getting to know the world, the people in it and the details of their life than in writing about them. It must be added, however, that Ilf was really ill for many years. He always complained of feeling bad but the doctors failed to discover what ailed him.

When he was about thirty, Ilf became interested in the *Leika* camera, then quite a novelty and very much in fashion. For Ilf, photography was one more method of delving deeper into this planet of ours. He became an ardent amateur photographer and from morning till night took pictures of his relatives, friends, acquaintances, fellow workers in editorial offices and even casual passers-by.

Petrov used to complain about his hobby with comical sadness:

"I had eight hundred rubles in the savings bank and a fine collaborator.

"I loaned him my eight hundred rubles to buy a camera and found myself left without money or collaborator... He does nothing but take pictures, develop and print them. Prints, develops and takes them..."

How did this story with the camera end? In 1935 when the two of them went to America, Ilf was already such an accomplished photographer that his American pictures with accompanying text were featured in the magazine *Ogonyek*. This was the first version of the future *Little Golden America*.

11

Eugene Petrov. It has often been said that Ilf and Petrov were two different people. That is quite true. There were certain traits, however, that marked these two as kin long

before their steady collaboration produced an amazing resemblance in mental habits and outlook. Particularly I have in mind that quality which most impressed those who saw them for the first time—the quality of wholesomeness. And how pleasant it was to see such honesty and wholesomeness in writers who were already famous. Neither Ilf nor Petrov ever acted against the dictates of conscience in large or small matters.

These two writers possessed another quality which many literary people lack. That was erudition. They both had a broad education which included a deep knowledge of their own and world literature.

Petrov was fond of literature and knew it both as a reader and a writer. His was a special attitude toward books, that of a person who understands, remembers, and even feels how each given work of art is constructed. Such appreciation is not the mere ability to give a critical analysis of what has been read. It most closely approximates the manner in which a talented stove fitter or carpenter instantly grasps the inner structure of something a fellow artisan has made.

Petrov instantly grasped the main idea of a book, its plan, the structure of its sentences and style, the turn of the plot. I assert that such an intensive sense of the essence of a work of literature is very rarely found among writers and is an exceedingly valuable quality.

When Petrov gave oral rein to his imagination, it was pure and unadulterated joy for me to listen. He wove a story so easily, so lucidly and with such evident enjoyment. His spontaneous humor was enough to set you rocking.

This is the way I picture Petrov—in a coloured shirt with his suitcoat neatly hung on the back of the chair, laughing his contagious, jolly laughter as he told a story of something that had just come into his head. He would begin in a loud voice,

"Comrades, it should go like this!"

And after a brief pause he would continue with phrases that were clear in meaning although disconnected in syntax. Thus, with time out for laughter, he would give voice to all the ideas that came into his head... And Ilf (it is evidently impossible, after all, to write about them separately) would immediately assume a serious expression as if to show that he was not going to approve if Petrov's ideas failed to satisfy his exacting

taste. But in another minute Ilf would begin to laugh, at first grudgingly, then willingly enough. He would soon interrupt Petrov with a suggestion.

"Wait a second, you ought to put this in . . ."

Petrov would stop, listen to Ilf, and instantly grasping the latter's idea, boom out in a baritone that drowned out his more restrained partner,

"Right! Then it goes like this . . ."

These were wonderful hours of inspiration, full of immeasurable delight even to casual observers.

12

A single glance at Petrov was enough to sense that he was a person of unmistakable and striking talent.

With Ilf the first impression was of a powerful, analytic mind while with Petrov it was of a harmonious, gifted personality. His charm was something quite above the ordinary. He evoked a smile of approval and sympathy at the very first glance at his kind and affectionate face. He had a thin, slightly aquiline nose, a small, well shaped mouth, dark Asiatic eyes and dark straight hair that formed a neat widow's peak on his forehead. Apparently there must have been Mongol blood in the Kataevs. Valentin once told me that his father had come from some place beyond the Urals.

Everything about Petrov was pleasant and charming, even his manner of inclining his right ear to his listener (he was slightly deaf in the left ear) or his way of walking with his body thrust slightly forward, swinging his legs widely as he walked. Petrov's courtesy and politeness was the kind that comes from within, from a love for people and a desire to do good. As I have already remarked, Petrov was a man of principle. He never accepted or pardoned anything that seemed in bad taste.

Petrov had a quick temper. It was enough for him to hear about someone's meanness or callousness or dishonesty for him to go red in the face with anger. There was no stopping him in such cases until he had had his say about whatever it was that had aroused his indignation.

It would do no good to offer reasons and justifications or excuses for the guilty person whom he had perhaps never set eyes upon. Petrov would turn his head to the right at an even sharper angle, thrash at the air with his upraised hand and stubbornly repeat:

"No-o. No, sir, let him be poor but honest!"

The latter was already a generalised, confirmed formula Petrov always used. He demanded honesty, integrity, love of fellow men and democracy from people. He deeply felt and appreciated the fundamentals of the Soviet system precisely from this angle. He was an example of the kind of person a Soviet man ought to be.

In 1939 Petrov became a candidate for membership in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks).

13

I have already had occasion to speak in passing of Petrov's capacity for work. Besides handling all the technical part of his and Ilf's collaboration, Petrov managed to learn English (during their trips to England and America he was Ilf's interpreter), learned to play the piano (of which more later) and read a great deal on special subjects such as world politics, economy, military science, aviation and memoirs relating to these fields. Petrov called himself a "pique vest"—the name given in *The Golden Calf* to middle aged gentlemen of Odessa who used to promenade proudly in their pique vests and talk learnedly of politics.

After spending the day working with Ilf or making the rounds of publishers and editorial offices with him, Petrov liked to come home in the evening and lounge on the davenport in his small dining-living room decorated with bright water-colours by David Burlyuk. This artist, one of Mayakovsky's boyhood friends, has been living in America for a long time and it was there that he presented Petrov with his amusing and talented landscapes executed in an expressionistic manner. Petrov usually offered his guests vodka or tea and then seated them near his good right ear. He was a hospitable host, pressing refreshments on his guests and attentively questioning them to find out just what interested them. Soon, however, his temperament and his own keen interest in the current political situation would get the upper hand and he would begin an impassioned exposition of politics or the role of aviation in future wars. Nothing would stop him once he got going if he did not cut himself short. After calling himself a "pique vest" for the upteenth time, he would beg pardon for having made such a row and shift the conversation to some other topic — literary news, humour, some topic of the day . . . Meanwhile the

thoughts and ideas expressed by the young host remained in the minds of his guests . . .

Petrov was very musical. At one time he even had ambitions of becoming a composer and when he was already in his thirties, and a famous writer, he began to take piano lessons. For some reason or other he bought a harmonium. How many jokes we cracked about that harmonium! But Petrov remained undaunted and bravely practised his exercises both on the piano and on the harmonium.

He was a regular attendant of the opera and a sound judge of singers and composers. When abroad he always made a point of going to the opera. He often spoke of the La Scala Theatre in Milan. I don't remember whether Petrov wrote about his talk with the head *claqueur* at the La Scala Theatre. It took place during his visit to Italy in 1927 and concerned a famous anecdote about Chaliapin. It was said that when the great singer was on tour at La Scala, he threw the head *claqueur* down the stairs for offering his services.

"When I asked the head *claqueur* if the story was true," said Petrov, "he answered with a smile, 'It was slightly different, *senor*. I showed *Senor Chaliapin* our price list—five liras for applause when the singer appears on the stage, ten liras at the end of an aria, fifteen liras for a curtain call, twenty for an encore, one hundred for an ovation at the end of the performance, etc. *Senior Chaliapin* said, 'I'll take all of that but I want to know how much it will cost to have you spread a rumour in town that I threw you down the stairs.' I asked three hundred liras. We bargained over the price for a while and then Chaliapin agreed to pay my price for this too' . . ."

Music was a passion with Petrov. He went to all the concerts and had a splendid collection of symphony records. When the question of music for their plays and scenarios came up, Ilf usually said,

"Ask Petrov about it. That's his line . . ."

Petrov wrote the screen plays of the two best Soviet musical films—*Anton Ivanovich Gets Angry* and *A Musical Story*. The selection of melodies for both these films shows that the author knew how to judge the qualities of the music he selected.

Petrov himself used to give one particular musical performance of which we were all very fond. It consisted of his playing a succession of some forty motifs of the most popular songs and dances of the last fifty years. The

first item in this potpourri was the polka *Kitayanka* which came out, if I am not mistaken, in 1900 during the Boxer Rebellion in China. It was followed by the waltz *On the Hills of Manchuria*, which dates back to the Russo-Japanese War of 1905. Then came various dances and tunes from the 1900's and 1910's, World War I and so forth, right up to the latest hits. The impression was astounding. Arranged in chronological order and in such quantity, these melodies made a sort of history of the years they covered. It is well known that music, like odours, has remarkable power to evoke associations. Thus our childhood and youth, the life of the country and historical events were all reflected in this unpretentious music.

14

The fame of Ilf and Petrov began to rise in the early "thirties."

I use the word "rise" deliberately, as the process was much the same as the rising of the water in a river during spring floods. It is impossible to observe this process as one observes the second hand in a watch, but if you leave the scene briefly, the rise in the level of the water becomes obvious on returning. So was it with the fame of these two humourists.

Their novel *The Twelve Chairs* met with a warm reception from the general reading public. But as is usually the case, the names of the authors did not immediately impress themselves on people's minds. Their second novel increased and entrenched public interest in these authors, who had produced two outstanding books in three years. Critics hastened to rectify their previous sins of omission by lavish praise. Reporters were eager to write about Ilf and Petrov's forthcoming books, their plans for the future and their public appearances. More and more often *The Twelve Chairs* and *The Golden Calf* were quoted in the press and in ordinary conversation.

The Golden Calf was first published in the magazine *Thirty Days*. In 1932 I heard the following story from several people, Ilf and Petrov among them: An elderly lady translator once walked into one of the publishing offices and said,

"Well, you always say a brief synopsis or a trial translation is not enough to judge whether a book is worth translating into Russian. So I've translated a splendid French novel for you. I have the manuscript with

me—you can set it right up. It's called *Douze chaises*. In Russian it's *Twelve Chairs*.

The poor old lady had translated the French version of Ilf and Petrov's novel back into Russian! When she was told what a blunder she had made it took her the good part of a year to recover from the shock.

After a while Ilf and Petrov began to be recognised whenever they appeared on the street. They were invited to all kinds of receptions and meetings. Their novels were translated into foreign languages. But despite their growing popularity they remained the same as ever. Petrov still saw red whenever he heard about someone's villainy. Ilf was just as caustic in his attacks upon vulgarity and upon embezzlers of public property. With the passing of time Ilf lost some of his shyness from attending so many conferences, meetings and celebrations. Petrov became quicker at distinguishing between people with real grievances and those who were simply looking for trouble.

In 1935 the two of them took a trip to America. They returned in about a year. Their motor trip across America brought on an active form of the illness that had so far gone unnoticed in Ilf.

When they returned to Moscow, Ilf and Petrov decided to try their hand at a new genre. From sheer satire they turned to more sober fiction. Their first venture in this field was their story *Tonya*.

What were the reasons for this change? There were several.

First of all both authors had already grown out of their first youth (Ilf was thirty-nine and Petrov thirty-four). They no longer felt the same urge to turn all the people whom they met in life into grotesque caricatures (however talented). They were now drawn toward greater and deeper psychological problems beyond the scope of the literary form they had been using thus far.

Furthermore, their keen political insight enabled them to see that their readers would resent being forever caricatured, especially during the tense period of reconstruction the country was then undergoing. Ilf and Petrov began to speak with their friends about their desire to venture into a new field. They realised that new tones, new methods and new approaches had to be found, that they could not go on repeating their former novels. Working with their usual intensity and conscientiousness they courageously undertook the task

of revising all their methods of writing. In *Tonya* Ilf and Petrov went so far as to relinquish their most powerful and time-tried weapon—laughter. This story is written in the delicate tones of a water-color. Though they still had much to learn before mastering the new genre, this first attempt gave promise of a bright future which fate saw pleased to prevent.

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Ilf's illness failed to improve although he took treatment and faithfully followed the doctors' advice. At one time he began putting on weight and with characteristic humour he would stand in front of the mirror and say,

"And who may this plump young man be?"

He assumed a bantering condescension toward his illness. In general he always tried to poke fun at his illness. Only two sad phrases in his *Notebooks* give evidence of any protest against his fate. Even the melancholy evoked by his mortal sickness was expressed in jokes. I remember sitting at a table in a restaurant with him some two months before his death. He took a bottle of champagne in his hands and with a sad air tried to crack a joke.

"Champagne with the label 'Ich sterbe'."

These German words were the last ones uttered by Anton Chekhov who died of tuberculosis at a German health resort.

Ilf realised that he was very seriously ill. No one, however, expected his illness to take such a swift course. Even his doctors had been mistaken apparently. In April 1937 Ilf suddenly took to his bed, although until then he had been feeling quite well.

The last time I saw Ilf was at the meetings of Moscow writers held on April 2 and 4 in the Large Auditorium of the Polytechnical Museum.

Ilf arrived punctually at both meetings and was as witty as ever in his talks with friends. At the second meeting Petrov took the floor to speak. He mounted the platform and read his speech—a feuilleton written in collaboration with Ilf. It dealt with problems concerning honesty among writers and the improvement of the literary level of Soviet writings.

The audience repeatedly interrupted Petrov's speech with laughter and applause. Ilf sat next to me in one of the last rows, blushing furiously and closing his eyes. We used to joke that while Petrov read their joint manuscripts Ilf called for water and did the coughing.

On April 7 I was told that Ilf was sick in bed. I went to see him on the eighth, but his wife said that he was feeling too ill to receive visitors. On the evening of the thirteenth when I was at the Actors' Club the actor Khenkin came up to me and asked in an anxious voice, "Everyone is saying that Ilf is dead . . . Have you heard anything?"

Ilf had just moved into a new apartment on Lavrushinsky Pereulok and had no telephone as yet. I rang up the *Pravda*. I don't remember who answered but a sad voice said, "Unfortunately it is true."

Immediately I went to Ilf's apartment. It was two in the morning by then and a number of his friends were gathered there. Ilf's face wore a severe and restrained look—the same that had marked it in life. He was dressed in a brown jacket and light trousers. It seemed as if he had lain down for a rest . . .

Soon afterwards we went to Petrov's apartment on the floor above and spent the rest of the night there. Piles of copies of *Little Golden America* fresh from the printers, were stacked along the wall in the dining room, still untied. Petrov untied one of the piles and handed a copy out to each of us. Somehow it seemed very fitting to receive a copy of this book from Petrov in memory of Ilf that night.

Several months after Ilf's death the full measure of the tragic loss it meant to Petrov became clear. He was comparatively calm and composed during the first few days occupied with the autopsy (which showed tremendous caverns in the lungs), the procession of Muscovites coming to take their last leave of Ilf and the funeral. He took part in all the ceremonies and necessary preparations for the funeral and sat for hours in the Writers' Club where the body of his best friend lay in state. A certain absent-mindedness unusual in him and a sad, faraway look on his face were signs of how deep his grief really was.

The coffin containing Ilf's body lay in the Writers' Club for two or three days. The many friends of the deceased spent long hours at the coffin. Guards of honour changed places from ten in the morning until twelve at night. How many people took their places in these guards of honour! But perhaps the greatest tribute of all was the endless procession of people from the street—the countless readers who came to file past Ilf's coffin. A large crowd of people was waiting on Vorovsky Street when the coffin was carried out of the

Club. A brief meeting was held at which Alexander Fadeyev spoke and then the procession set out for the Crematory.

That evening several of us, without consulting each other, gathered at Petrov's home. Among those present I recall Fadeyev, Olesha, Kataev and Slavin.

Petrov still seemed outwardly very calm. He even laughed very quietly at his friends' occasional attempts to lighten the atmosphere by recalling Ilf's humor. But it was obvious that he was crushed by a grief which only now, when all the cares attending the funeral were over, took complete possession of him. As is always the case, the bitterness of his loss became more acute with the passing of time. One had to know the kindness of Petrov to appreciate what a blow Ilf's death was to him. There was also the feeling that some of the guilt was his, that he should have been able to save him, to detect the fatal malady in time. He was alive himself but Ilf was gone. These were the thoughts that were tormenting Petrov now . . .

16

At first Petrov wrote nothing at all. Then he began working again but in entirely different fields than those in which he and Ilf had written. This change, of course, was also to be explained by the fact that even before Ilf's death they had decided to alter their methods of writing. This point must be taken into consideration when we speak of Petrov's independent work after Ilf's death. To a certain extent Petrov was left at a loose end. He dabbled in plays, began a novel about future times, wrote critical articles and essays. He took a trip to the Far East and Kamchatka and wrote travel articles for the *Pravda*.

17

The war gave Petrov's writing a new turn. He started working for the Soviet Information Bureau from the very first days of the war. He wrote for the Soviet and the foreign press. American readers had a chance to find out what was happening in the Soviet Union during the first months of the war from Petrov's articles appearing in the foreign press. His stirring and profoundly patriotic feuilletons appeared in the *Pravda*, *Ogonyek* and *Crocodile*. Some of them were reprinted in booklet form in the *Ogonyek* Library Series.

It is difficult to imagine what Petrov would have written if it had not been for the war. It

was already apparent, however, that he was recovering from the mental shock of Ilf's death.

On a hot August day in 1941—while crossing Pushkin Square I suddenly heard Petrov and Ryklin—a member of the *Pravda* staff—calling me by name. They were on their way home from some meeting. They were lively and even gay but there was the same feeling of strain and anxiety in their gaiety as there was in the seemingly usual setting of a Moscow sun that summer. The three of us continued across the square. Our beloved Moscow seemed to look the same as ever but behind us an H. E. bomb had ripped through four floors of the *Izvestia* building, reducing part of it to ruins. There were fewer people on the streets. The war and the reverses of the first few months weighed heavily on all of us although we did not speak about it and even tried to crack jokes.

We started talking about our families who had been evacuated. Petrov said that he had sent his wife some money but not very much as the savings bank had restricted withdrawals. And he went on in a very business-like tone:

"I am leaving for the front and it's possible that I may be killed. I scraped together all I could and wrote Valechka that perhaps this was the last money she would be getting from me so that she had better be economical with it."

18

In May 1942 I was mobilised into the Army to work on frontline newspapers. At the beginning of July I was sent on an assignment to the units of the 51st Army, quartered near Rostov. When I entered the army newspaper office in Mechetinsk on 5 July I was just in time to catch the end of a sentence coming over the radio:—"... the widow, Valentine Leontevna Kataeva-Petrova is to receive a monthly pension..."

Taking a deep breath, I ran over to the loudspeaker. There could be no doubt, Petrov was dead.

Some time later, on rereading Ilf's *Notebooks* and Petrov's preface *From Reminiscences of Ilf* I was struck by the following words in Petrov's preface:

"I don't remember which of us uttered the following phrase: 'It would be nice if we were

killed together in an airplane or automobile accident...'"

And now, Petrov had been killed in an airplane accident at forty, the same age at which Ilf had died five and a half years earlier.

19

There had been two remarkable men and now they no longer existed. What was left? Their books. Clever, kind, gay and talented books. In our day books grow old and die very quickly. How many books which only recently evoked rapturous praise, have already lost all significance. But the books of Ilf and Petrov fill us with even more joy today than when they first appeared. The reason for this is that these writers were able to express the essence of their subject in a trechant, talented presentation which transforms a topic of the day into something that lives not a day or a year but much, much longer.

The interest in Ilf and Petrov's books is not at all lessened by the fact that the terms, the names, the customs and the habits described in them have undergone changes. Everything is presented so clearly and precisely, so cleverly and with such respect for the reader that no commentaries are necessary to explain the phenomena that have since vanished from our everyday life. Astonishing proof of this is the fact that even the most "local" of their novels have been translated into all the languages of the world. It seems that in Europe, Asia and America the reader is able to grasp everything that Ilf and Petrov have to say about the life of the Soviet people, remote and unknown as this life is to them.

It was always a great pleasure for me to look through the de luxe foreign editions of *The Twelve Chairs*, *The Golden Calf* and *Little Golden America* in Petrov's bookcase. There was an American translation published in New York, an English one published in London, a French copy with "Paris" on the binding, another French translation printed in Brussels, a Vienna edition in German, a Berlin edition, Czech translations, Polish, Norwegian, Swedish, Spanish, Italian, Turkish, Japanese, Arabian... Their books were read all over the world. The final honor bestowed on them was to be burnt in the fascist bonfires in Berlin.

FROM THE LITERARY ARCHIVES OF CONSTANTIN STANISLAVSKY

1. *Speech made on 10 March, 1911 at the first lesson for students and actors of the affiliated department of the Moscow Art Theatre¹*

BEFORE we begin to study, let us determine precisely what it is we want to learn. Otherwise misunderstandings may arise in the course of our studies.

Elements of that beautiful and lofty art toward which we aspire also existed in the theatre of the past.

We shall conscientiously and attentively study the old in order better to understand the new.

We shall not say that the theatre is a school. No, the theatre is entertainment.

It is not to our advantage to lose sight of this very important element. People should always go to the theatre to be entertained. Let us assume that they have come to the theatre and that we have closed the doors and turned out the lights. Now we may do whatever we want with them, instill them with whatever emotions we will.

But there are various forms of entertainment.

Let us assume that you have come to the theatre and taken a seat. Lovely stage settings sometimes a bit strident in colour, sometimes more harmonious, depending on who designed them, splendid actors, marvellous gestures, brilliant lighting affects that dazzle and overwhelm you, music—all these things arouse, agitate and stimulate your nerves more and more until at the end of the play you are applauding, shouting "Bravo!" and climbing

up on the stage to thank one of the actors, embrace another, kiss a third, jostle a fourth. When you leave the theatre you feel so disturbed that you cannot sleep and so you go to a restaurant with a crowd of friends. There, at the supper table, you relive the play you have just seen, recalling the charm of a certain actress, etc., etc. . . .

But what remains of your impression after the sobering effect of a night's sleep? Practically nothing at all. And in a few days you will not even be able to recall at what theatre it was that you shouted and applauded so enthusiastically—was it at the Korsch, or the Nezlobin or the Zimin Opera House? Oh yes, you will decide it was probably at the Korsch.

I am very fond of such shows. I adore music halls and vaudeville as long as there is nothing smutty about them.

But there is another kind of theatre. You come in and take a seat as one of the audience. Without your being aware of it, the director transports you from the world of the audience to that of the stage where you become a participant in the life being depicted in the play. Something has happened to you. You no longer feel like one of the audience. When the curtain goes up you immediately say:

"I know that room. Here comes Ivan Ivanovich, and now Marie Petrovna. That man is a friend of mine . . . Yes, I know all this. But what will happen next?"

You are all attention. You look at the stage and say:

"I believe everything, everything, everything . . . There is my mother, I recognise her . . ."

The play is over, you are disturbed but in an entirely different way. Here you feel no desire to applaud.

¹ In 1911 the Moscow Art Theatre planned to open an affiliated department with a personnel drawn chiefly from the pupils attending the Art Theatre Drama School. This plan was not carried out however and instead of an affiliated department the First Studio was opened on 15 January, 1913 with a production of *The Wreck of the Ship 'Nadezhda.'*

This speech first appeared in print in a volume called *The Theatre*, published in 1945 by the All-Russian Theatre Society in Moscow.

"How can I applaud my own mother? It would seem strange, somehow..."

The elements contributing to your disturbed state of mind and emotions in this case are such that you are made to concentrate and think deeply. After the performance you feel no urge to go to a restaurant. You would like to sit around some happy family table with a steaming samovar on it. You feel the need for an intimate talk about life's problems, philosophical outlooks and social questions.

And this time your impression has quite a different effect after a night's sleep. In the first case you could not for the life of you remember what had made you climb up on the stage and kiss the tenor the night before. What a stupid thing to have done, was your thought the next morning. True, he had sung very well but why kiss him? How stupid!

In the second case your impressions have entered deep into your soul. Serious problems clamor for solution and you feel that something is lacking, that you have failed to understand something very important and that you must go to see the play a second time.

You feel that those people whom you saw on the stage last night have become near and dear to you. You want to share their sorrows and their joys. In them you see a part of your own soul. They have become your friends. I know people, many of them, who say

"Let's go to the Prozorovs' tonight."

Or,

"Let's go to Uncle Vanya's."

For them it is not a matter of going to see a performance of *The Three Sisters* or of *Uncle Vanya*. They really go to see Uncle Vanya or the Prozorov sisters, as the case may be.

Old actors used to say that such intimate communion with an audience was impossible to achieve on the stage, that it could only be done in a small room. The Art Theatre, however, has found a way to accomplish this in the theatre. Perhaps this would be impossible in such a theatre as the Bolshoi or the Coliseum—there are certain limits and boundaries governing performances in such theatres—but during our tour abroad we played in the theatre at Wiesbaden which is almost as large as the Moscow Bolshoi Theatre. This proves that such art as ours can be conveyed to a large audience.

And so—

The first type of theatre is designed to entertain the eye and the ear. Therein lies its ultimate aim.

The second type of theatre uses visual and auditory impressions only as a means of penetrating deep into the heart of the audience.

In the first type it is necessary to please the eye or, perhaps, to shock it; no matter what the means, the predominating purpose is to get a strong reaction from the audience. The actor is aware of this and what doesn't he do to achieve this aim! If he lacks a sufficiently artistic temperament, he begins either to shout or to talk very quickly, or to clip his words, or to sing.

Consider for a moment how powerful the theatre is! In the theatre you can arouse an audience to ecstasy, drive it to distraction, make it tremble. Or, on the contrary, you can make the spectator sit quietly in his seat and obediently absorb whatever you wish to pour into him. You can arouse the herd instinct in the audience if you wish.

Painting, music and other arts, each of which exert a strong influence on the soul, are all brought together in the theatre, and their effect is therefore all the more powerful.

I remember meeting Leo Tolstoy for the first time at the home of Nikolai Davydov and his saying: "The theatre is the strongest pulpit for the modern man." And that is true. The theatre is more effective than the school or preaching could ever be. You must have a special desire to go to school, but people always want to go to the theatre because they always want to be entertained. At school you must be able to remember what you learn, but in the theatre you do not have to remember—everything you see and hear is so strongly impressed that the mind naturally retains the impressions.

The theatre is the strongest of weapons, but like all weapons it works both ways. It can bring the greatest good to people and it can also be the greatest of evils.

If we ask what our theatres offer the people, what will the answer be? I have in mind all our theatres, from Duse, Chaliapin and other great artists to Saburov and the Hermitage—in general, everything that can be classed under the term theatre.

The harm caused by a bad book cannot be compared with that caused by a bad theatre, either in the extent of the infection or the ease with which it spreads.

And yet, the theatre as an institution possesses elements making it an instrument of education and primarily, of course, of the aesthetic education of the masses.

Thus you see what a powerful force we are preparing ourselves to wield. You see how responsible we are to see that this force is used as it should be.

2. On the Twentieth Anniversary of the Great Proletarian Revolution¹

Anniversaries impel us to make summaries. They reveal our souls. On such occasions we can say many things that are impossible to say at another time.

I wish to take advantage of this liberty in connection with the coming holidays and express a few thoughts on my mind.

As soon as the Party and the Soviet government took the reins into their hands, one of their first concerns was the preservation and protection of the old theatre. It was necessary to lend support to those theatrical troupes which remained intact after the revolution.

Many of us at first failed to understand and appreciate the events transpiring around us. There were many people, I among them, who remained unconvinced and decided to wait a while before resuming performances in the theatre.

The Party and the Soviet government displayed infinite patience, wisdom, tact and attention toward actors during that trying period of transition. At that time we did not appreciate it, but now, after twenty years have passed, we wish to express our profound gratitude for the wise care displayed in the approach to art and to those who did not immediately grasp the significance of the changes wrought by the Revolution.

What happened in our theatrical life at that time?

I shall confine myself to the changes that took place in the Moscow Art Theatre.

Much has been written to the effect that the first years of the Art Theatre were brilliant ones. But the truth is that by 1905 we had reached an impasse in the Theatre. This was the reason which prompted our first foreign tour to Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia. We left Moscow not because it was impossible

to continue our performances in Moscow but because we did not know how to go on living in our native country and along what lines to develop our art.

These doubts were the result of the appearance of new tendencies in art at that time, tendencies which subsequently developed into so-called formalism. Its poison was already influencing our art. Falsity and conventions were driving living truth from the stage and we had neither sufficient strength nor confidence in our art to combat these new tendencies.

This period of doubt and instability was a long one. Besides the few honest and sincerely mistaken exponents of these new tendencies there were numerous hangers-on and careerists who clustered around the theatre in order to line their pockets and "fish in muddy waters." The falsity and hypocrisy then existing in the theatre provided a favourable atmosphere for that sort of thing.

Add to this danger another one of a material nature—the fact that box office receipts depended to a great extent on prevailing "fads" in art.

We resolutely refused to take up all the "isms" that appeared on the horizon those days and for that we were termed outmoded "naturalists." This obsolete appellation still clings to us by tradition. At the time of which I am writing the Art Theatre was paying its own way. We received no subsidy from the tsarist government and the theatre existed solely on box-office receipts, chiefly from those of the season's first production. If the current *première* made a hit then we were sure of full houses, if it failed it meant that the whole season would be a lean one and that receipts would not cover expenses. The only way to make both ends meet was to take the theatre on tour in the spring.

This was the situation before the Revolution of 1917. After that everything was changed. We were relieved of all material cares and responsibility. This new government gave us

¹Herewith published for the first time. This article exists in Stanislavsky's *Literary archives* in the form of a draft manuscript (item No. 5199) and two unfinished variants—one in manuscript (No. 5189) and another in a typed copy (No. 5190). We herewith publish the text of manuscript No. 5199.

the opportunity to devote ourselves solely and wholly to the artistic aspect of the theatre. This change was a real blessing for us, a dream come true, the realisation of a vision we had all long cherished.

At the same time life confronted us with another new and difficult task. We now had an audience unlike any that we had ever had before and we had to do with social and political problems that were not always clear to us. Many theatre workers solved these problems by going over to pure propaganda on the stage. We were utterly confused and spent long years in searching until at last something happened which as far as I know has no precedent in history. At the critical moment the Party and the government, and not we actors, came to the defence of true art.

It was at this time that *Pravda* published its memorable article demanding real art and no substitutes from the theatre. This correction from above immediately directed our efforts into the right path. The well-wishing and appreciative attitude toward actors as well as constant moral and material encouragement and generous rewards for work well done did the rest. These things strengthened our confidence in ourselves and served as an incentive to further achievements.

The fact that we work in close cooperation with the government imbues us with tremendous energy and force and opens wide horizons before us.

It will not be given to our generation to see the wonderful future which can already be

glimpsed. There will come a time when human labor will be based on different principles, when people will work only as much as is needed for normal requirements and no more. Then the natural resources of the earth will be distributed justly and correctly. And what will people do with their leisure time? They will take up sports, conquer the elements, study science and art.

Mankind must prepare itself for this happy life, a life in which the actor will play a most important role.

Actors will travel from one country to another, not in pursuit of mercenary, aggressive aims but for the sake of cultural conquests. The theatres of one republic will declare war on another to win priority in various branches of art. The finest representatives of the nation will be sent from one republic to another with the finest works of art in order to convey the spirit and sentiments of their people to the people of other republics. Heated disputes will arise, disputes that will bring glory to human culture, arguments that will contribute to the growth and perfection of humanity. Let mankind, and the actors among them, prepare for these battles and these victories! Let us cherish the achievements of the past, the traditions of the old art. Let people know the laws which nature itself has made for the development of art. With such an outlook and with the aid of the friends of art — the Party, the government and their leader Joseph Stalin—no difficulties can daunt us. A marvellous future is not only beckoning to us, but is lending us incredible strength in the present.

FROM THE HISTORY OF RUSSIAN CULTURE

DOBROLYUBOV AND WESTERN DEMOCRACY

By V. Virginsky, M. A.

THE POSITION of Nikolai Alexandrovich Dobrolyubov (1836—1861) in relation to the West is a subject of some interest. An understanding of it requires a knowledge of the life and environment of this great Russian democrat, whose life came to so tragic and abrupt an end.

Dobrolyubov was the son of a priest from Nizhny Novgorod, whose moderate means placed him in a class of intellectuals close to the common people that came to be known in Russian literature as "raznochinzy" (belonging to no definite class). Dobrolyubov first made his appearance in St. Petersburg in 1853 as student of the Institute of Pedagogy. Under the influence of the growing movement of national disaffection, which was then being cruelly suppressed by the government apparatus of Nicholas I, and under the influence of the progressive Russian and Western ideas that were then being illegally spread among students, young Dobrolyubov became convinced of the necessity of overthrowing the feudal, autocratic system and of creating a new, democratic, enlightened and free society with the happiness of man as its goal.

Long before Dobrolyubov was graduated from the Institute of Pedagogy he became a contributor to and subsequently one of the editors of *Sovremennik* (*The Contemporary*) — one of the most progressive journals of that day. Chernyshevsky, who was already famous, at once recognized this young thinker and journalist as a worthy colleague.

"Write whatever you like, as much as you like, and however you please... You are on the right track," he told his new friend.

In profound and brilliant articles and literary criticism, in scintillating satirical verses, Dobrolyubov scathingly criticized reaction and obscurantism and the vulgar opportunism that supports reaction. Not only did he detest those who stifled human happiness and progress, but he also hated those who screened these reactionaries with democratic phrases, those who called for reconciliation with the enemies of the common good.

The middle of the nineteenth century was a time of heated disputes in Russia between the so-called *Westerners* and the *Slavophiles*. The former believed that Russia would, on the whole, follow the same path of development as the West, and therefore looked upon the political and social institutions obtaining in the constitutional countries of the West—particularly in England, the United States and France, as models to be copied. The Slavophiles, on the other hand, asserted that Russia would follow its own, original path of development, and that the West could not serve as an example for Russia. Some of the Slavophiles regressed to reactionary, Pan-Slavic views, but the finest representatives of both the Westerners and the Slavophiles criticized the system then existing in Russia, even though they did so from different standpoints.

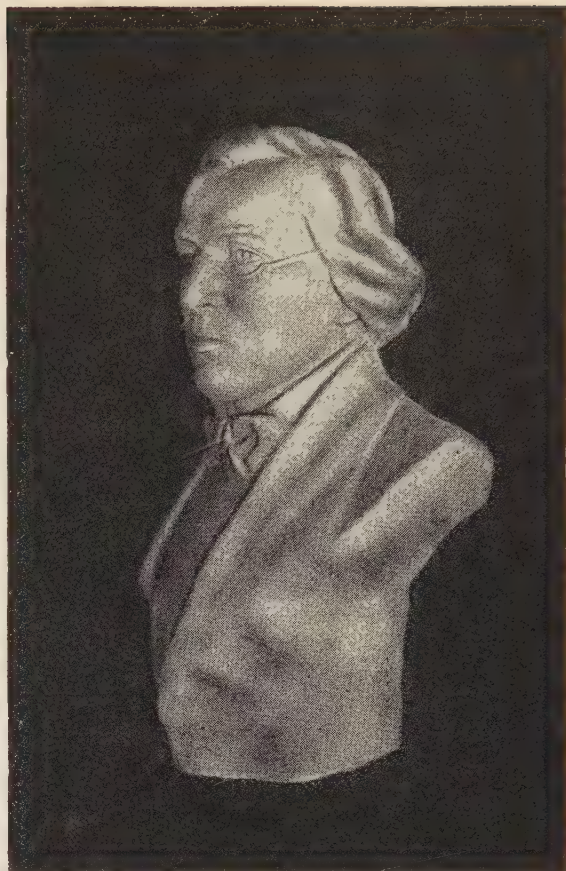
This criticism, however, seemed insufficient to the revolutionary-democratic camp to which

Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov belonged. Nor were they satisfied with the attitude that both the Westerners and the Slavophiles assumed towards the West. In 1859 Dobrolyubov clearly expressed his views on these questions in a review of an article by Professor Babst, who was associated with the right wing of the Westerners. In this review Dobrolyubov sharply criticized the Slavophil contentions that Russia had nothing to learn from the West.

"Every nation travels a certain path of historical development," wrote Dobrolyubov. "The West entered upon this path sooner, we later; we still have much ground to cover that has already been covered by the West and in this progression, profiting by the experience of others, we must beware of the pitfalls that beset the nations which preceded us."

Dobrolyubov considered it the cardinal error of the Westerners that they ignored these "pitfalls," i. e. the negative, dark sides of the social system that came to be established in the West, that they uncritically admired everything western. The restricted outlook of moderate liberals such as Babst (who subsequently even came to terms with the reaction and became one of the tutors of the heir to the Russian throne) roused Dobrolyubov's indignation. Babst, himself a prominent financier and businessman, admired the liberalism of the West-European bourgeoisie. He termed views of the latter "public opinion." Dobrolyubov emphatically stressed the fact that it was not the bourgeoisie but the people who were the mainstay of democratic progress in the West.

"So-called public opinion in Europe," he wrote, "is far from being the conviction of a whole nation; on the contrary, it is usually (with very rare exceptions) the opinion of only a certain section of society, of certain estates or even circles, sometimes large but always more or less selfseeking. That is why this opinion is of such small import: on the one hand it does not take too much to heart those actions, even the most arbitrary and unjust, that affect the lower classes who still have no rights and no voice; on the other hand arbitrary rule itself is not too much put out by the unfavourable opinion of those who are themselves inclined to exploit the popular masses and are consequently interested in keeping them deprived of rights and voice. If the matter is looked into more closely it will



Nikolai Dobrolyubov

be found that despite their apparent differences, there exists a secret, unexpressed alliance between rank arbitrary rule and enlightened capital, in consequence of which they make various delicate and touching concessions to each other, spare each other, and forgive each other's petty offences, always bearing in mind that they must keep their forces united to oppose the working class, lest the latter suddenly demand its rights... As a result of these errors of self-interest, the survivals of feudalism and its principles—arbitrary rule, violence and plunder—have not yet been wholly eradicated from Western Europe. They frequently come to the surface in one place or another, in the most diverse, even civilized, forms... In general, as social life changes, old principles also assume different, endlessly varying forms, and many are deceived by this. The essence of the matter, however, always

remains the same, and that is why, in order to destroy evil, it is necessary to begin not with the top and not with the branches but with the roots."

Dobrolyubov was skeptical of the unrestrained admiration the Westerners had for formal democracy, for the paragraphs of the liberal constitutions when they were not backed up by any real improvement in the condition of the people.

With all his respect for the democratic and constitutional successes gained in the West, Dobrolyubov did not look upon the system of the Western powers as that consummate model that Russia should exclusively strive to emulate. While he was of a high opinion of the genuine gains made by social progress in Western Europe in comparison with the autocratic-feudal system obtaining in tsarist Russia, Dobrolyubov noted the restricted, "palliative" nature of these gains in many of his works. He pointed to the feudal survivals, the existence of economic, political, religious and racial privileges and inequality in the West. He noted the contrasts between wealth and poverty, unmitigated by any constitution, even the most liberal; the unequal status of women, colonial oppression and much else.

It should not be forgotten, however, that despite the real profundity of Dobrolyubov's analyses, he and the others who shared his views could not escape from the limitations of the period in their comprehension of democracy. At that time social science had not yet attained a sufficiently high level of development to allow them to discover the motive forces of historical development which were subsequently so brilliantly revealed by advanced social thought. For this reason Dobrolyubov's comprehension of democracy differs appreciably from ours today. Dobrolyubov dreamt of a social order for Russia, which, while incorporating all the positive achievements of advanced western countries, would avoid their shortcomings and contradictions.

In speaking about the West, Dobrolyubov always based his views on the real interests of the people, and not on the interests of one or another political grouping, etc. That is why this advanced Russian thinker felt that he was at one with the finest, the truly national writers and journalists of the West. That is why, for instance, he held such a high

opinion of the work of Beranger, the spokesman of the French people. In a review of the Russian translation of *Songs by Beranger* (1858), Dobrolyubov wrote with the deepest feeling about the genuine humanism, the consistent democratic spirit and true patriotism of the French poet. He defended Beranger against the attacks of his political opponents. He entered into polemics with a certain Montégut who questioned Beranger's reputation as a champion of freedom and a humanist on the grounds that Beranger was not a bourgeois liberal. "The democrat is not always avowed liberal," indignantly exclaimed Montégut. In reply to Montégut and his Russian and western adherents, who were inclined towards formalism in their comprehension of democracy, Dobrolyubov wrote:

"After these accusations—one cannot fail to see how Beranger towers above near-sighted liberals like Montégut. They attach the greatest importance to form; the main thing for them is a play of words, which, for the most part, express abstract concepts. They... cannot forgive anyone who gives but cold glances to all kinds of liberal phrases and new forms of institutions. They cannot rise to the viewpoint of a person who seeks only the essential good... Judging by his songs and his own assertions, Beranger was one of the few people who held such a lofty, humane viewpoint... He concentrated all his effort on one aim—the advancement of the people... 'Le peuple c'est ma muse,' he says, and the character of his poetry can hardly be better expressed in so few words. This sympathy for the people explains Beranger's unusual popularity."

What Dobrolyubov especially admired in Beranger's work was the fact that "in all his songs his love for his country merges with his love for the people; he justly and proudly despises those tawdry phrases about some kind of abstract love for the majesty of one's native land which usually go to screen self-interest or lack of true feeling."

Dobrolyubov defined genuine patriotism in the following remarkable passage (from an article in *Sovremennik*, 1858):

"The distinguishing feature of real, active patriotism is that it precludes all international hostility, and the man who is inspired with such patriotism is ready to work for the whole of mankind, if only he can be of any

help. If he confines his activities to the boundaries of his own country he does so because he knows that this is his true place and the one in which he can be of most service... True patriotism, as a partial manifestation of love for humanity, is incompatible with the harbouring of hostile feelings for other nationalities..."

Dobrolyubov felt a lively sympathy towards all the gains of democracy in England and the U. S. A. He repeatedly spoke with high praise of the constitutional freedoms existing in England, openly setting them up as an example to the tsarist government. "England's great strength lies in the boldness and ruthlessness with which governmental and social shortcomings may be exposed at any time. Owing to this beneficial right of public expression she has avoided many errors in her life as a state," wrote Dobrolyubov.

His opinion of the democratic conquests of the American people was just as high. He quoted with sympathy (in a review of a travel book about America [1859]) the words of a French author: "... Shortcomings, and even very important ones, may be found in its structure and life (America), but these shortcomings cannot obscure the splendid qualities which constitute inseparable features of the North-American Union and which contain the secret of its greatness. These qualities are: a wise composure in the strict observance of the rights and duties of each individual, the practical application of general ideas, a striving to develop the material welfare of the people, and a noble patriotism that inspires each citizen to forget his own interests for the sake of public interests." Dobrolyubov adds, however, that his appraisal is "rather onesided." He intended to write another article (which never appeared) in which he would touch on the shadier sides of American democracy. But even in the above review he notes, for instance, that the author gave insufficient attention to "the question of slavery, the most important and vital of all questions, not only for North America, but perhaps for the whole of the civilized world as well."

In another article (1861) treating of the war that was then in progress between the northern states and the southern, Dobrolyubov expressed his sympathy towards the former and referred to Lincoln with the greatest respect.

"Beyond all doubt," wrote Dobrolyubov,

"most remarkable of all is the latest law passed by Congress—a bill for the emancipation of Negroes belonging to plantation owners who have risen in arms against the republic. This law is a decisive step towards the abolition of slavery and marks a new phase of the war."

While giving their due to the constitutional achievements, the enlightenment, love of freedom and patriotism of the British and American peoples, Dobrolyubov was filled with special admiration for those sons of these peoples who tried to outstep the bounds of that which had already been attained and fought for a better, a more just, more humane and democratic order of society. It was for this reason that Dobrolyubov felt so strongly attracted to Robert Owen, the English reformer and friend of the working people, whom Chernyshevsky called a "saintly old man."

Dobrolyubov devoted a special article to Owen, written in 1859, soon after the latter's death. He began this article with the following words: "Owen is indubitably one of the noblest and most attractive people of our century." He wrote with the deepest respect of Owen's attempted reforms, whose object was to supplement political, formal democracy with the realization of "essential good" (as Dobrolyubov put it in speaking of Beranger) in the social-economic sphere. Owen's endeavours to rid society of the exploitation of man by man, of class inequality, of poverty and unemployment, evoked Dobrolyubov's warmest sympathies. Dobrolyubov realised perfectly that the methods by which Owen tried to achieve liberty, equality and fraternity in the social-economic field were Utopian, but he sharply reprimanded the bourgeois liberals who were fond of ridiculing this great fighter for the happiness of the working people as an absurd crank who dreamt of transforming the whole world in accordance with his own ideas. "His is so audacious a fantasy," wrote Dobrolyubov sarcastically, "that Owen's sensible opponents cannot even understand it properly. And it is good for them that they cannot!" He and those of his opinion believed it was necessary to fight for the realization of Owen's ideals, but by altogether different methods than those Owen employed.

Whereas Dobrolyubov loved and respected all who championed human happiness, he

was an implacable enemy of reactionaries and their myrmidons. Dobrolyubov fought just as passionately against reaction in Europe as against Russian autocracy. His most wrathful pages are devoted to flaying Prussian and Austrian reaction.

In the above-cited review of an article by Babst, Dobrolyubov wrote with scathing indignation of the bloody crimes perpetrated by German reaction in 1849 when, "drunk with victory and irritated by the resistance they encountered, the soldiers broke into houses and threw their unarmed foes—women and children—out of third storey windows, bayoneted war prisoners and cast them from the bridge into the Elba." He laughed at Babst for hoping that in the future the "public opinion" of the German liberal bourgeoisie might prevent a similar display of lawlessness on the part of the military, might prevent a "cuirassier solution" of social problems.

Dobrolyubov likewise sharply criticized Babst's indulgent attitude towards the Prussian bureaucratic-police "order." He showed on the basis of the facts cited by Babst himself that this "order" suppressed all free thought and stifled the enlightenment of the people. "The universities are restricted, hampered, persecuted." With "cuirassier" arguments, the German reactionaries preached chauvinist, misanthropic theories, poisoning German youth with the venom of racial and national hatred.

In an article concerning a book called *Outline History of German Literature* by O. Stahl, Dobrolyubov made a point of exposing these poisonous pseudo-teachings spread in Germany many decades before the appearance of Hitlerism, but in many respects anticipating fascist obscurantism.

The author of the above-mentioned book, a typical German reactionary, preached religious, national and racial intolerance. Stahl branded as sophism Lessing's idea that one might be a good person whatever faith one happened to profess. Stahl denied progress and asserted that the conclusion to be drawn from Goethe's *Faust* was that if a man "in sinful pride and an unbridled thirst for knowledge strove to achieve omniscience, he succumbed to the spirit of falsehood and coarse sensuality and perished in sin."

Dobrolyubov analyzed this reasoning of the German obscurantist with disgust and loathing. This great Russian humanist and cham-

pion of equality for all peoples was especially disgusted by Stahl's antisemitic arguments, directed against the brilliant German poets Heine and Börne. Dobrolyubov termed these attacks "sheer invective."

"Everything flat, flabby, idle and rotten is systematically praised in Herr Stahl's book," wrote Dobrolyubov. But these qualifications apply to the whole of the official ideology of German reaction.

In an article called *The History of Austria*, Dobrolyubov showed up Count Mailat, an Austrian confrere of Stahl's. His very first words revealed his attitude towards the book under review. "Count Mailat," he wrote, "is a Hungarian of noble birth, distinguished for his faithful service to Austria . . ., haranguing in favour of the Austrian government in 1848, and admirer of the house of Habsburg and the Jesuits. This honourable gentleman, who in Hungary enjoys the reputation of being a renegade, has composed a vast and learned history of Austria . . . This, we think, says all there is to be said about Count Mailat's book; after the information we have given, we deem an analysis of the book entirely superfluous. We are much more interested in knowing why the anonymous translator spent his energy on a book of this kind, that systematically, deliberately and maliciously lies from beginning to end."

Dobrolyubov thereupon went on to expose the lies of this Austro-Hungarian reactionary, simultaneously stigmatizing those Russian obscurantists who expounded similar views in their writings and for whom, as for Mailat, the struggle of the Italian people against the Austrian usurpers was "treason," while Austria's arbitrariness was "lawful power."

In general the heroic struggle the Italians waged against their Austrian, French, and Papal oppressors and against reaction in their own country won Dobrolyubov's warmest sympathy, while the enemies of Italian freedom were likewise his enemies.

In an ironical article called *A Letter from A Well-Meaning Frenchman* (1861), Dobrolyubov scathingly criticized Napoleon III, throttler of French democracy. He wrote the article in the form of a letter from a reactionary French chauvinist who rejoices that the "traditions of the first revolution" have been forgotten by France, that "brave warriors are already appearing who are boldly trampling these traditions into the mud." The imaginary

author is full of enthusiasm about the fact that thanks to the efforts of Napoleon's police, France has been brought around to "good behaviour," and insists upon intervention in Italian affairs, which, forsooth, set a bad example for France, because the Italian people were fighting for freedom. "By slaying the hydra of Italian revolution the government will make the existence of the present system secure for a long time, will plant peace in Europe and during this peace will have the opportunity of regaining all that was lost." To praise Napoleon III's government he compared it with that of other pillars of reaction—the Austrians and the Pope of Rome. "The existence of the Vatican is just as necessary to Catholicism, as the existence of the Austrian Empire is to diplomacy," declares the French obscurantist. He is somewhat worried over the principle of non-intervention, but even this holds no terrors for the admirer of Bonaparte's methods. "The unfortunate principle of non-intervention (which we ourselves proclaimed) may be cited against us. But, in the first place, it was proclaimed under different circumstances: in the second place, it has now already been violated by Piedmont itself; in the third place, it has not been sanctified by a congress; and in the fourth place, it should be subordinated to another, higher principle, which we proclaimed in Rome long ago and which has been violated by the Italian movement and cries for vengeance. Because Austria has grown definitely weaker and because Spain has not been admitted to the great powers (despite our solicitation) we are now left as the sole guardians of the Catholic principle in Europe, the sole defenders of the Holy Father's secular power."

Dobrolyubov looked upon the blows dealt their external and internal enemies by the Italian patriots as blows dealt by European revolutionary democracy against reaction as a whole. That is why Dobrolyubov sympathized so warmly with the men who fought under Garibaldi's banners. That is why he so wrathfully played pseudo-patriots like the Piedmont statesman, Cavour, who tried to steer between reaction and the liberation movement and who feared his own people.

Dobrolyubov censured Cavour even more severely in that, as the head of the Piedmont government, he called in the French troops of the Emperor Napoleon III against the Austrian invaders, thereby violating Italy's

sovereignty. "The French have now grown accustomed to look upon Italy not only as their own property, but, what is more, as an estate of which they are the trustees," wrote Dobrolyubov in 1861, soon after Cavour's death. He paid several visits to Italy before this and sent back a number of articles (*From Turin*, etc.) in which he presented a critical appraisal of the situation that arose in Italy owing to the fact that its unification did not follow sufficiently democratic paths. In his article about Cavour, Dobrolyubov described the paths taken to achieve Italy's liberation and unification. "One was the national, direct, decisive path that involved reliance on the forces of the peoples, and the participation of all Italy. This path was constantly advocated by the radical party from 1832 onward . . . The creation of Italy as a unified great power, her liberation from all foreign influence including Austrian, the organization of the state with the granting of the most extensive rights to the people and the most reliable guarantees of these rights . . . The other program was much narrower and poorer, but for that very reason it was more tangible, easier of fulfilment and of upsetting the status and privileges of the Piedmont minister and the whole government. This was a diplomatic plan to paralyze the influence of Austria in the peninsula by introducing another influence—the French . . ."

Further Dobrolyubov went on to state that Cavour "in rising up against the Austrian occupation did not dare say a word against the occupation of Rome by the French." He was especially indignant at the fact that "not only was nothing done to ensure national armament on a wide scale but, on the contrary, all measures were taken to prevent it. They did not even want to open national shooting-ranges . . . The persecution and disbandment of the Garibaldi volunteers has won sad notoriety throughout Italy and Europe. The government of Naples and Sicily was shamelessly perfunctory, and, moreover, hostile to everything that encouraged the people's enthusiasm for liberty and action. The national movement was paralyzed wherever the ministerial party could suppress patriots. Despite the meekness and submissiveness of the latest parliament, its debates revealed that the position of the southern provinces was dreadful, and, indeed, that the affairs of the whole of Italy were taking a very, very bad turn. Nevertheless Cavour did not want to

renounce his system, and could not adapt a more liberal path. He approved of the persecution of the Garibaldians, he kept on selecting all kind of mediocrities as ministers, opposed or allowed others to oppose, the election to parliament of people of a radical turn of mind, abolished Garibaldi's decrees in the southern provinces... Garibaldi coldly and calmly accused the Prime Minister of wanting to start a 'fratricidal war' against those who by rights should be called the liberators of Italy. The reproach was the more biting in that its truth was obvious to everyone. Nothing remained but to talk things over with Garibaldi in a friendly way and ask him for reconciliation..." Further Dobrolyubov related how this time, too, Cavour deceived the noble-minded and trustful Garibaldi and violated his agreement with him. The result was that "French troops are now stationed in Rome for an indefinite time and under their protection reaction holds full sway... In Turin nothing is done without first obtaining the permission of the Tuileries cabinet. It appears now that instead of working in unison with the government, the Italian people must spend their energies on guarding themselves against any betrayal of their interests."

Dobrolyubov's articles on the Italian question

were written during the last period of his life. Upon returning to Russia in 1861 he fell very ill. Tuberculosis had long ago sapped the strength of this great Russian thinker. Now the disease entered an acute phase. But even in these last months of his life he did not cease his preoccupation with what had ever been the main concern of his life—the fight for a better future for Russia and for mankind. As late as August 1861 he wrote a review of domestic and foreign policy in which he set forth his views with his usual brilliance.

In this review he came out in defence of the northern states of America as against the slave-holding south, in defence of Hungarian self-determination as against Austrian reaction, in defence of Italian democracy as against the reaction which had organized a brigandly band in southern Italy to fight the patriots.

On 17 November 1861 when he was not yet 26 years old, Dobrolyubov died in the arms of his friends. But his fame lived on and spread far beyond the confines of the land that gave him birth. Progressive mankind honours him as a disinterested friend and true fighter for democracy, although his understanding of the latter was limited by the understanding of his day.

MIKHAIL ILLARIONOVICH KUTUZOV

(On the 200th Anniversary of His Birth)

¹
MIKHAIL Illarionovich Golenishchev-Kutuzov, the great Russian military leader, was born in St. Petersburg on 5(16)¹ September 1745. His father, Illarion Matveyevich, entered the imperial service during the reign of Peter I, and after thirty years in the engineering corps retired with the rank of Poruchik-General² to continue his career as a civil engineer. A hard worker with a thirst for learning, the old engineer and general inculcated these qualities in his son. In 1757 young Kutuzov was enrolled in a school of engineering and artillery.

The future army leader was a good student. He diligently mastered the history of warfare and tactics and acquired an excellent knowledge of artillery and engineering. He liked history and literature and studied many languages: French, German and Latin, and subsequently, Swedish, English, Turkish and Polish.

On 1(12) January 1761 Kutuzov received his commission as an ensign and became an officer of the line. He entered the Russian army at a time when it had scored major military successes. The Russian art of warfare, of which Peter I, Rumyantsev and Suvorov were brilliant representatives, had been developed and consolidated in the course of a series of victorious wars. Brought up on the immortal example of these army leaders, Ku-

tuzov in turn was destined to elevate the Russian art of warfare to a new and higher level under the more complex conditions that were to be encountered in the course of Russia's historical development.

Kutuzov thoroughly mastered the essence of Suvorov's "science of victory." From Suvorov he inherited the firm conviction that the main strength of the Russian army lay in its soldiers, and that by displaying solicitude for the soldier and winning his trust and affection, it was possible to demand of the troops supreme exertion of effort in war. This, in turn, would enable the general to insist that they win every battle.

Kutuzov had the opportunity of holding a post at the imperial court. The future army leader, however, preferred combat service, and when hostilities broke out in Poland in 1764 he obtained an appointment to the army in the field. With this appointment he entered upon long years of fighting ser-

vice. The vast experience he gained during these years in battle and line service developed his great military talent.

In many battles Kutuzov repeatedly faced death and twice he received bullet wounds in the head that almost proved fatal. He lost an eye as a result of one of these wounds, but returned to active service as soon as he recovered his general health.

In the autumn of 1790 Kutuzov was in command of a separate corps stationed against the formidable fortress of Izmail where, as the record shows, he "repeatedly had encounters with enemy cavalry. He smashed it with the light troops under his command at a distance



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¹ The bracketed dates are those of the New Style Calendar.

² Poruchik General was a rank in the 18th-century Russian army immediately above Major General and below Lieutenant General.

of six versts from the city with considerable losses for the enemy."

Subsequently he took part in the famous storming of Izmail by Suvorov on 11 (22) December 1790, being in command of one of the columns holding a highly important sector. Kutuzov's column charged the Kilian Gates. It was a terrific battle. After the assault Kutuzov wrote to his wife: "I shall never see another battle like it. It made my hair stand on end." The victory was complete, although, as Suvorov said, there was "no fortress stronger or defence more desperate than that of Izmail. Only once in a lifetime can one venture an assault like that."

Kutuzov played a highly important role in the victory of Izmail. "Although he marched on my left flank, he was my right hand," wrote Suvorov in dispatches. Suvorov once said: "Some have to be ordered, others can take hints, but to Kutuzov there is no need to say anything at all; he understands everything himself." In his report to Potemkin on the taking of Izmail Suvorov wrote: "Major General and Cavalier Golenishchev-Kutuzov displayed new examples of his skill and courage. Overcoming all obstacles and in the face of heavy enemy fire, he climbed on the wall, took possession of the bastion and when superior enemy forces compelled him to halt, he held his ground with exemplary courage, overcame the strong foe, established himself in the fortress and then continued to play havoc with the enemy."

After the storming of Izmail, Kutuzov was already a well-known army leader who was entrusted with more and more important assignments.

Kutuzov's thirty years of service in the army, years of almost incessant battles and campaigns, revealed his remarkable talent as an army leader. He showed himself to be an able tactician who combined boldness and resolution with caution and a thorough study of the military situation. These qualities, his excellent knowledge of the army and military matters in general and the seasoning he had received in battle, enabled him to develop into the mature and sagacious general of subsequent wars.

At the beginning of 1793, after the war with the Turks, Kutuzov was summoned to St. Petersburg. This marked the beginning of a protracted period of diplomatic and military service. Besides being a remarkable general, he

was also one of the most brilliant diplomats Russia ever knew.

Throughout his career Kutuzov's talent as an army leader was enhanced by his talent as a diplomat. This made itself particularly evident in 1805, 1811, 1812 and 1813, when Kutuzov led major military operations and when hostilities assumed so large a scope that by their very nature they involved diplomatic activity.

2

Great historic events took place in Europe in the first years of the nineteenth century. In 1800 Napoleon defeated Austria and forced her to conclude peace. In 1802 the Amiens Peace between England and France was signed; the second coalition of the powers against France collapsed. But this was only a temporary respite. Napoleon was out to dominate Europe. This presented a direct threat to Russia as well. In 1804 the third coalition against France was formed. Russia concluded an alliance with Austria, England supported the coalition. Prussia remained neutral. In 1805 the newly-formed coalition declared war on France.

Kutuzov was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army that moved into Austria in August 1805. He was soon to meet Napoleon, who stood at the head of what was then a huge army. The Russian army and Kutuzov as its leader were confronted with new tasks far more complex than those that obtained at the time of Rumyantsev and Suvorov.

In order properly to appreciate Kutuzov's activity as an army leader, it must be emphasized that he had to operate under difficult and unfavourable conditions. In the first place, Kutuzov, unlike Napoleon, was not empowered to make independent decisions. He was obliged to defend his views against Alexander I, who constantly interfered. Secondly, Napoleon was better prepared for war than were his opponents and this enabled him to capture the initiative from the very outset.

The campaign of 1805 was planned by the Austrians. The Allied forces were scattered over several theatres of operations.

Following his usual strategy of beating his enemies piecemeal, Napoleon rapidly moved his army of 220,000 men into Bavaria, surrounded the Austrian army under Mack and forced it to surrender on 7 (19) October 1805. At that moment the Russian army under Kutuzov was still concentrated in Braunau (on

the Inn River). The surrender of the Austrians placed the Russian army in a disastrous position. Napoleon wasted no time; he was firmly convinced that he would take the Russian army by surprise and smash it. On 17(29) October the French reached Braunau only to find that the Russian army had withdrawn. Kutuzov had divined his opponent's intentions, and on this, as on all other occasions, he refused to allow the enemy to surround him. His famous retreat maneuver began. Since the Russian army was encumbered with baggage trains, the mobile French corps could easily have overtaken it. Kutuzov realized this, and also that Napoleon's army outnumbered his almost four to one. But in spite of the grave, almost hopeless situation, he decided to withdraw, and by a series of masterly moves he led the Russian army out of encirclement and destruction. This was the only correct solution, but the Austrian emperor had demanded that Kutuzov defend Vienna, that he hold the bridgehead on the Danube at Krems. He sent General Schmidt to Kutuzov with orders not to permit the Russian army to withdraw, and Tsar Alexander I confirmed the order that Vienna be defended. Kutuzov proved to both Emperors that this was impossible and disastrous, that it was exactly what Napoleon was trying to achieve in order to smash the Russian army. Kutuzov knew that Napoleon had already transferred the corps under Mortier to the left bank of the Danube with the object of cutting off his retreat; while on the right bank the Russian army was being pursued by Murat. The Russian military leader consistently carried out his maneuver. On 24 October (5 Nov.) Murat was repulsed in a battle at Amstetten and Kutuzov was able to withdraw to Krems. Leaving a rearguard cover at St. Pelten, the Russian army crossed the Danube and then burned the bridge. Mortier, who had failed to cut off Kutuzov, was routed at Dürrenstein on 30 October (11 Nov.) and thrown back to the other side of the Danube. For the first time in his career Napoleon had sustained a serious blow before the eyes of all Europe.

On 31 October (12 Nov.) Murat captured Vienna, crossed the Danube and advanced to Znaim. Kutuzov was again in danger of being cut off. To save his army he sent a detachment of 6,000 men under Bagration to delay Murat. The latter, unaware of the size of the force against him, entered into negotiations



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for an armistice. The armistice agreement was sent to Kutuzov and Napoleon to be ratified. Kutuzov did not reply but continued to retreat and managed to pass Znaim. Realizing that the Russians had outwitted Murat, Napoleon ordered Murat to attack the Russian rearguard units immediately. On 4(16) November Bagration held out against Murat's onslaught for a whole day and, although surrounded, managed to break away with 3,000 men and join Kutuzov, who was already at Olmütz, where the Allied forces were concentrated. The French Marshal Marmon has called Kutuzov's retreat "classically heroic."

In this way Kutuzov succeeded in upsetting Napoleon's plans and saving the Russian army from defeat. Kutuzov's strategy was correct, and when the Allies joined forces at Olmütz they already outnumbered Napoleon's army, which was then at Brunn. This numerical superiority was destined to increase. The Austrian armies coming from Italy pressed on Napoleon from the rear. Prussia was likely to attack him at any moment. Kutuzov considered it necessary to muster all the Allied

forces before attacking the French. He thought that until this should have been accomplished a general offensive against Napoleon would be premature. However, the opinion of the Austrian headquarters prevailed, and against Kutuzov's better judgement it was decided to advance against Napoleon immediately, which was exactly what Napoleon wanted. On 20 Nov. (2 Dec.) a battle was fought at the village of Austerlitz. The disposition of the Austrian headquarters provided for complicated troop movements with the object of cutting off Napoleon from Vienna. Kutuzov's proposal to "avoid complex maneuvers," his warning against attacking the enemy without knowing his positions, fell on deaf ears.

On the day the battle took place Kutuzov was with one of the columns of the Russian army. He believed that the Pratzen hills were the key to the whole battlefield, and therefore endeavoured to keep his own troops there. But when Alexander arrived on the scene he ordered him to leave the hills and advance. Napoleon at once attacked and captured the Pratzen heights, thereby breaching the Allied centre. After that the battle was lost. Austria concluded peace with Napoleon and the Russian army withdrew to its own frontiers.

The tsar, who had virtually removed Kutuzov from the post of Commander-in-Chief and had ignored his advice, laid the blame for the Austerlitz defeat on his shoulders. Kutuzov was thereupon appointed military governor of Kiev.

3

In 1811, when it became clear that Napoleon was preparing a new war against Russia, the tsar was obliged to appoint Kutuzov Commander-in-Chief of the Danube army. The position of the Russian army was anything but favourable when Kutuzov took over command. This was owing, above all, to the international situation. Napoleon was preparing for a war against Russia, and Europe had no doubt of his success. Napoleon allocated an important role to Turkey in this future war. At this time five divisions were taken from the Russian Danube army and added to the main forces stationed on the Western border. That left Kutuzov with 46,000 soldiers. To make matters worse, the Russian army was dispersed over a front 1,000 km. in length, while the Turkish army of 80,000 was concentrated against the Russian centre and occupied strong fortresses.

Kutuzov found unique solutions for the

strategical and tactical problems with which these unequal conditions presented him. He discarded the distended cordon system of army structure and gathered his forces into a fist with which to strike in a decisive direction.

Kutuzov drew up his army to Ruschuk. He ordered the fortresses of Nikopol and Silistra, situated on the flanks, to be blown up and concentrated the garrisons of these fortresses in the centre. He disposed his troops in such a manner as to be able to counter-attack the enemy in several directions at any moment.

Kutuzov decided against storming the Shumla fortress, where the Turks were entrenched.

The dispatches he wrote at this time demonstrate his ability to make original strategic decisions adapted to given situations, his ability to turn his opponent's mistakes to his own advantage. Knowing the weakness of the Turkish army in field fighting, he forced it to engage in battle under conditions favourable to the Russian army. His ability to employ military cunning in the interests of strategy and tactics was most strikingly manifested in this campaign.

By a clever maneuver combined with the skilful circulation of false information, Kutuzov lured the Turks out of the Shumla fortress to Ruschuk. Learning of the movement of the Turkish army, Kutuzov stationed his troops in front of Ruschuk with their backs to the Danube. This was undoubtedly a risky maneuver, but, as Kutuzov wrote in his dispatch on the Battle of Ruschuk, this position "was not exactly advantageous, but it was the only one possible." He boldly took the risk, for he knew that in battle it is not only the position that is of decisive importance, but the troops defending that position.

In the Battle of Ruschuk the Turkish army of 60,000 under the Grand Vizier was smashed. According to the rules of tactics it would appear to have been essential to follow close upon the enemy's heels. Instead, after remaining where he was for three days, Kutuzov blew up the Ruschuk fortress and crossed from the south bank of the Danube to the north. This was a subtle piece of military cunning. Kutuzov knew that if he pursued the Turks they would again take shelter in Shumla, to storm which he considered unnecessary, inasmuch as "the important thing was not to take the fortress but to win the war."

In his dispatch of 2(14) July on the withdrawal from Ruschuk, he wrote: "... in spite

of the partial harm which the abandonment of Ruschuk might bring to me personally, and, preferring always to be of service to my sovereign . . . after evacuating the inhabitants, artillery and ammunition—in a word everything—and blowing up the citadel in several places, I crossed to the left bank of the Danube on the 27th of this month.”

His ruse worked. The main forces of the Turks emerged on the North bank of the Danube. Now the situation had altered radically: every hour was precious and Kutuzov resolutely switched over from the defensive to the offensive. A unit of 7,000 men under General Markov made a wide detour far from the area of hostilities and crossed to the southern bank of the Danube. It emerged in the rear of the Turkish camp and in a swift and sudden attack captured it complete with standards, guns and ammunition. Moreover, on Kutuzov's orders, Markov mounted the Turkish guns on the southern bank of the Danube and opened fire on the rear of the Vizier's forces standing on the northern bank. Kutuzov attacked the Turks, pressing them back to the Danube. The Turkish army was thus completely encircled. This operation brought out one more aspect of Kutuzov's military skill—his ability to make a decisive transition from the defensive to the offensive, in which he employed maneuvers outside of the field of battle and struck blows at enemy lines of communication.

Further, utilizing his diplomatic experience, Kutuzov skilfully induced the Turks to sign the Bucharest Peace, which was favourable to Russia and removed Turkey from the field as one of Russia's opponents at so critical a moment as the eve of the war with Napoleon.

This was a great military and diplomatic victory, which substantially improved Russia's political and strategic situation at the beginning of the Patriotic War of 1812. Nevertheless, Tsar Alexander I removed Kutuzov from the leadership of the Russian army, which was thus deprived of its renowned leader at the very moment when a huge French army was amassing on the banks of the Nieman.

On the eve of 1812 Napoleon was already the ruler of Europe. “Within five years I shall be master of the world; Russia alone remains, but I shall crush her,” he said in 1811. Together with England, Russia was the chief stumbling block to Napoleon's plans for setting up a world empire. In 1810 Napoleon launched

his preparations for war against Russia on a broad scale, creating a huge army, known as the Grande Armée, which numbered 600,000 men.

On the night of 12(24) June, 1812, Napoleon invaded Russian territory without making any declaration of war. Two Russian armies under Barclay de Tolly and Bagration retreated into the interior of the country, meeting on 22 July (4 Aug.) in Smolensk. The retreat continued, arousing dissatisfaction both in the army and in the country. Demands came from all sides for the appointment of a single Commander-in-Chief invested with full powers, and all eyes were turned to Kutuzov, the army leader who had covered himself with glory, the man whose name was revered by the whole people. The tsar was forced to yield to the pressure of public opinion and on 8(20) August he appointed Kutuzov Commander-in-Chief. The country rejoiced to hear the news.

Kutuzov was confronted with exceptionally difficult problems. He assumed command of a retreating army. The war was approaching its crisis; the fate of the Russian state hung in the balance. It was a matter of life and death for Russia. Her independent existence was at stake. Before Kutuzov stood Napoleon's vast army. The French Emperor was marching on Moscow. In those days Napoleon realized that the fate of all his plans was about to be decided; that in order to ensure success he had to win a general battle and utterly rout the Russian army. Kutuzov saw that Napoleon's army outnumbered his, and therefore his main task was to strengthen his forces. As long as the French had more chances of winning a general battle, he must do all he could to avoid one. He also realized, however, that the moment would come when a general battle would have to be fought. That moment came at Borodino.

The Russian army numbered 120,000 men, including 10,000 men of the popular levy and 7,000 Cossacks. The Russian artillery numbered 640 guns. The French had 135,000 men and 587 guns.

“The position I have taken up near the village of Borodino, 12 versts from Mozhaïsk,” wrote Kutuzov in a dispatch to Alexander I on 21 August (2 Sept.), “is one of the best to be found on this flat terrain. My left flank represents a weak spot which I shall try to remedy by skill. It would be desirable for the enemy to attack us here, in which case I

entertain strong hopes of victory; but if, finding my position strong, he should maneuver along the roads leading to Moscow, I shall be obliged to move my forces behind Mozhaisk to a spot where all these roads meet."

Kutuzov saw that of the two roads passing through the Borodino field, the Novaya Smolenskaya on the right flank of his position was wider and better than the Staraya Smolenskaya which cut his left flank. The Novaya Smolenskaya Road was the main strategic road to Moscow, and it was this road that Kutuzov covered, while all the other points in his position had merely a tactical significance.

With his understanding of Napoleon's strategy and tactics, Kutuzov foresaw the maneuvers he was likely to make. Stationing his main forces at the wide Novaya Smolenskaya Road and in the centre, Kutuzov gave himself the possibility of counterattacking with large forces. At the same time, should Napoleon attempt to outflank him, or in the event of an unfavourable outcome of the battle, the Russian army could retaliate with a counter-maneuver, take up positions behind Mozhaisk and again bar the road to Moscow. The correctness of Kutuzov's judgement is evident from the fact that Napoleon did not risk outflanking the Russian army on the left.

Thus, in the decisive Battle of Borodino, which was a defensive operation for the Russian army and in which the initiative should have belonged to Napoleon, who was on the offensive, Kutuzov cleverly deprived him of this advantage and forced him to undertake a bloody frontal offensive.

In his orders to his troops, Kutuzov particularly stressed the importance of reserves, pointing out that "reserves must be saved as long as possible, for the general who still has reserves is not vanquished..."

Kutuzov made able disposition of his own reserves, ensuring full freedom for their utilization in battle.

In this way, by correctly planning the battle, by means of skilful disposition of his military formations, and by keeping reserve forces of men available, Kutuzov ensured himself the maximum freedom of action and the possibility of controlling the course of the battle. He entered upon this defensive engagement with all confidence in his forces and with full faith in the staunchness of the Russian troops.

After the battle of Shevardino on 24 August

(5 Sept.) the two armies stood vis-à-vis. Kutuzov toured his positions on horseback and chatted with the soldiers. The presence of their beloved leader inspired the men. At 6 a. m. on 26 August (7 Sept.) the French, as Kutuzov had expected, attacked Bagration's flanks and Rayevsky's battery. Seven times the French corps attacked and each time they were hurled back by Bagration's counterblows. In the eighth attack Bagration fell, mortally wounded. His divisions began to retreat. This was a critical moment. Napoleon discerned that to send reserves into action then might settle the outcome: "Guards forward!" he ordered, and the Imperial Guards, the main reserve of the French Army, rushed into the fray. The Russian troops were threatened with defeat. Learning of the danger menacing his left flank, Kutuzov sent Platov's Cossack Corps and Uvarov's Cavalry Corps against the rear of Napoleon's left flank. They sowed panic among the French. Worried about his left flank, Napoleon halted his Guards and lost time, while Kutuzov transferred his reserves to the left flank and strengthened its position. In a few hours, at tremendous sacrifice, Napoleon succeeded in capturing the central battery of Rayevsky, which was defended by the troops under General Barclay de Tolly. But the Russian Army stood firm to the last hour of the Borodino Battle. The French Marshals insisted that the last reserves—the Old Guards—be sent into action, but Napoleon realized that Russian resistance was not to be broken and that by bringing out his last reserves he might lose his Guards without winning the war.

Kutuzov's determination and skill triumphed over Napoleon. By nightfall Napoleon withdrew his forces from the Borodino field, on which he left more than 58,000 soldiers killed and wounded and 47 generals, without having won the general battle in which he had hoped to decide the outcome of the war. Kutuzov had won a major victory. It is to his everlasting credit that, relying upon the staunchness of the Russian soldiers and the skill of his commanders, he organized and conducted the battle in such a way as to prevent Napoleon not only from effecting any maneuver, but from scoring even a partial success by means of massed infantry and cavalry blows backed by powerful artillery.

This was the first general battle Napoleon had ever lost, and he was himself obliged

to acknowledge the fact: "Of the fifty battles I have fought, the greatest valour was displayed and the least success gained in the battle near Moscow," he declared. "The Russians have earned the right to be unconquerable." The Russian army was prepared to continue fighting at Borodino, but when Kutuzov learned that it had lost 44,000 men in killed and wounded and 23 generals, he gave orders to withdraw to Moscow. This was the best possible decision, inasmuch as it enabled Kutuzov to replenish his losses and carry on the war under conditions more advantageous to him than to Napoleon. "Since it is not a matter of earning glory by winning battles alone, but the whole purpose being to destroy the French army, I have decided to retreat," Kutuzov reported to Alexander I.

At the military council held in Fili on 1(13) September Kutuzov raised the question of whether to engage Napoleon in battle outside the walls of Moscow or to relinquish the city to the enemy. Opinions differed. Kutuzov ordered a retreat. "So long as the army exists and is capable of resisting the enemy," he said, addressing the council, "we can still hope for a favourable outcome of the war, but if the army is destroyed, Moscow and Russia will perish. My order is to retreat."

Kutuzov understood perfectly that Napoleon was striving to smash the Russian army and achieve a speedy victory. At the Battle of Borodino Kutuzov had not given him this opportunity and had upset his plans. He was determined not to give Napoleon the opportunity at Moscow either.

Possessing a thorough knowledge of his opponent, Kutuzov was convinced that upon entering Moscow, Napoleon would stay there and wait for peace. During this time, Kutuzov calculated on cutting off his supplies and reserves. "By surrendering Moscow I shall doom the foe. I won the battle before Moscow, but it is necessary to save the army, and soon all our armies, i. e., Tormazov, Chichagov, Witgenstein and others, will begin to strike at one objective and Napoleon will not remain in Moscow long," Kutuzov wrote to his daughter at this period.

In abandoning Moscow, Kutuzov planned operations which radically altered the situation in favour of the Russian army. At first he led his troops along the Ryazan Road, then suddenly turned from the Ryazan Road to Krasnaya Pakhra and Tarutino, where he halted.

Kutuzov's Tarutino maneuver is justly considered a military achievement that alone would have sufficed to win him the reputation of a brilliant strategist. By this maneuver he fundamentally altered the entire strategic situation in his own favour: in the first place, he led his army beyond the enemy's reach and gave it the opportunity to rest quietly and prepare for new battles; secondly, Kutuzov thus protected not only Kaluga, where huge army stocks were concentrated, but also Tula, with its armory; thirdly, he maintained his line of communications with the southern regions of Russia, which furnished his army with manpower, horses and all manner of supplies. Apart from the numerous defensive advantages, Kutuzov acquired the opportunity of carrying on active operations against the enemy's line of communications between Moscow and Smolensk, and thereby deprived him of freedom to maneuver. In the final analysis, he prepared advantageous conditions for the blockade of Napoleon's army in Moscow.

The position Kutuzov had taken up was so advantageous that all possible action on Napoleon's part was countered by the Russian troops under conditions far more favourable to them than to the French. How unexpected and disastrous for the enemy Kutuzov's flanking maneuver was may be judged from what Napoleon said some time later to a Russian general: "Kutuzov, that sly fox of yours, put me in a tight spot with his flanking march."

The little hamlet of Letashevka near Tarutino where Kutuzov established his headquarters became the military centre of Russia at that period. Reinforcements flowed to that point; people came from all corners of Russia to see with their own eyes that the Russian army was intact and was preparing for further struggle. These tidings strengthened the people's faith in victory. From St. Petersburg came demands for an offensive on the grounds that Kutuzov's inaction was worrying Russia, but, losing patience, Kutuzov replied: "It is a question of saving Russia, not reassuring her." Kutuzov was not idle. Strengthening his army and refraining for the time being from large-scale offensive operations, he launched extensive action on the enemy's lines of communications.

Kutuzov energetically promoted the development of the popular war against the foreign invaders. Guerilla detachments were active all the way from Moscow to Smolensk. At Ku-

tuzov's orders, the guerilla Lieutenant Colonel Davydov operated on the road from Smolensk to Gzhatsk, Major General Dorokhov from Gzhatsk to Mozhaishk, and Captain Figner from Mozhaishk to Moscow. Kutuzov was the first military leader to coordinate the action of army guerilla detachments with peasant detachments on such a large scale and in such a way that their blows assumed strategic significance. After the Battle of Borodino the guerillas destroyed and took prisoner more than 30,000 French.

Kutuzov groomed his main forces for new decisive battles, and set up a reserve army in the area of Arzamas and Murom.

The position of Napoleon's army blockaded in Moscow became unendurable. Under these conditions Napoleon finally realized that the war was lost and that he had to conclude peace. But he did not get any peace.

On 6(18) October the vanguard of the French army, under Murat's command, was smashed near Tarutino. The next day Napoleon decided to leave Moscow and break through to Kaluga, a province not devastated by the war.

Kutuzov's ability to make a resolute transition from the defensive to the offensive, to execute clever maneuvers while demanding the utmost speed of action from his generals and his troops manifested itself once again at this stage. On being apprised of Napoleon's march on Kaluga, Kutuzov moved his army to Maloyaroslavets. General Dokhturov's corps had been sent there in advance. "Your Excellency," Kutuzov ordered Ataman Platov, "is to move immediately with all the Cossack regiments and a company of horse-drawn artillery... and follow the Borovsk Road to the town of Maloyaroslavets."

At Maloyaroslavets, Dokhturov and Platov checked the French. On 12(24) October a fierce battle was fought in which the town changed hands eight times. By evening Kutuzov arrived with his entire army and Napoleon was forced to withdraw along the Smolensk Road to Mozhaishk. Kutuzov thus barred Napoleon's road to the southern provinces, which had remained untouched by the war and had rich food supplies.

By compelling Napoleon to retreat along the same devastated road as that by which he had marched upon Moscow, Kutuzov doomed the French army to destruction. The war was won. All Kutuzov's decisions at this period of

his career were strictly consistent and directed towards a single objective: they were extremely audacious and grave, yet showed his exercise of the greatest caution, quite obviously having been very carefully weighed first. The initiative was now firmly in the hands of the Russian army leader. He put everything he had into the pursuit of the enemy. On 29 October (10 November) Kutuzov issued the following order to his troops: "After such extraordinary successes as we have scored daily and everywhere, all that remains is to pursue the enemy with all speed and then, perhaps, the Russian land which he dreamed of enslaving will be strewn with his bones.

"And so we shall pursue him indefatigably. You will be able to endure brief hardships should they occur. Good soldiers are distinguished by their fortitude and patience; the old veterans will be an example to the younger men. Let all of us remember Suvorov: he taught us to endure hunger and cold when it was a matter of victory and the glory of the Russian people."

Kutuzov organized the pursuit in such a way that the French army was continually, day and night, under blows from flank and rear.

In a letter to Witgenstein on 15(27) November he pointed out that "the first and only purpose of all our action is to effect the uttermost destruction of the enemy... decisive blows must be dealt the enemy and on these perhaps depends the wellbeing not only of the Russian people but of all the peoples of Europe."

The excellent organization of parallel pursuit on a hitherto unprecedented scale yielded rich fruit. As a result of the pursuit, Kutuzov effected the complete annihilation of the French "Grande Armée" in a battle near Krasny, on the Berezina, between the Berezina and the Nieman. Kutuzov brought the victorious Russian army to Vilno, whence he wrote: "The war has ended with the complete annihilation of the enemy."

The Russian people and the Russian army celebrated their victory. Kutuzov, who received the title of Fieldmarshal General after the victory of Borodino, was decorated with the Order of St. George, First Class.

Kutuzov's strategy revealed the mind of an outstanding statesman. His decisions emanated from a thorough appraisal of the given situation. Kutuzov clearly visualized the decisive

factors in a situation, but at the same time he did not overlook details. He was noted for his caution and his efforts to gather as much information about a situation as possible and act in accordance with given conditions. These invaluable qualities were absolutely essential in the wars Russia fought at that time, wars waged over vast distances and with the participation of many states. Kutuzov had to lead armies larger than any which participated in former wars against an enemy superior in strength. Under these adverse circumstances Kutuzov showed himself to be a firstclass military leader of world significance as well as a sagacious and experienced statesman.

All this was combined with another and extremely individual trait of Kutuzov's character. There were always elements of military cunning in his clever, well-thought-out strategy. Kutuzov's plans were invariably calculated to take advantage of the weakness of the enemy and lead him astray. Kutuzov applied Suvorov's surprise tactics on a strategic scale. He understood Napoleon perfectly and contrived to create more advantageous situations for himself. Kutuzov's skill as a military leader—his strategy and tactics—surpassed that of Napoleon.

In his strategy Kutuzov pursued definite objectives, his goal being the total defeat of the enemy. He clearly envisioned the final purpose of a war or campaign and subordinated every action to this purpose. To attain it he employed his entire rich arsenal of tactics accumulated during his long years of military service. We see him equally strong in offensive and defensive operations. He employed maneuvers in all their diverse forms. Kutuzov knew well that wars are won on the battlefield, but he tried to make sure that he had the advantage over the enemy before he gave battle. Kutuzov's maneuvers had a profound strategic idea behind them.

Faced with a superior enemy force, Kutuzov retreated when necessary, but only to place the enemy at a disadvantage and, passing over to

the offensive, to smash him. In strategy as well, Kutuzov was bold and cautious, audacious and clever, resolute and cunning, persistent and flexible. He combined all the traits of a first class strategist and was one of the greatest soldiers in world history.

On 1(13) January 1813 the Russian army crossed the frontier and moved into Western Europe. A message from Fieldmarshal Kutuzov was read to the troops in which he called the Russian soldier the saviour of his country and urged him "to consummate the defeat of the enemy on the latter's own fields."

The operations of the Russian army under Kutuzov in 1813 was one long series of victories. Koenigsberg was taken by storm. Warsaw capitulated. Danzig fell under the blows of the Russian Cossacks. Poznan, Kalisz, Thorn were occupied. The Russian troops entered Silesia, took Berlin and Leipzig.

Kutuzov's army carried liberation to the peoples of Europe. But the great soldier had come to the end of his life's journey. On 16(28) April 1813 he died in Bunzlau.

The Soviet people cherish the memory of the great Russian military leader.

In the grim days of 1941 Comrade Stalin said:

"Let the heroic images of our great forebears—Alexander Nevsky, Dimitri Donskoi, Kuzma Minin, Dimitri Pozharsky, Alexander Suvorov and Mikhail Kutuzov—inspire you in this war!"

On 29 July 1942 the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. instituted the Order of Kutuzov, which is awarded to commanders of the Red Army for well-conceived and well-executed plans of operations resulting in serious defeat for the enemy, and the preservation of the fighting capacity of our troops. Many distinguished military leaders of the Red Army have been decorated with the Order of Kutuzov since its institution.

The Red Army has inherited the finest traditions of Russian military art, one of whose founders was Kutuzov.

IN MEMORY OF LOUIS PASTEUR

A JOINT MEETING of the VOKS Science Sections was held on 4 October to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the death of the great French scientist, Louis Pasteur. The meeting was attended by prominent Soviet scientists: S. I. Vavilov, President of the U. S. S. R. Academy of Sciences; the biologist B. I. Zbarsky, Hero of Socialist Labour; Academicians A. I. Abrikosov and D. N. Pryanishnikov, both Heroes of Socialist Labour; Academicians Lena Stern and E. N. Pavlovsky; K. S. Koshtoyants and A. I. Oparin, corresponding members of the U. S. S. R. Academy of Sciences and others. M. Charpentier, Chargé d'affaires for France, was also present.

A. V. Karaganov, Vice President of the Board of VOKS, opened the meeting with a brief account of the significance of Louis Pasteur's work. N. F. Gamalea, a pupil and collaborator of Pasteur, related his reminiscences and was heard with the greatest interest.

"Among Pasteur's great discoveries," said Gamalea, "his most remarkable one was that of vaccination against rabies. Many scientists at the time were hostile to this work. It seemed absolutely incomprehensible to most doctors, and for this reason the slightest mishaps that occurred while Pasteur was conducting these researches evoked the most fierce and malicious attacks. Pasteur's work was based on experiment. He was unsurpassable in his skill at planning experiments. He always tried to check his experiments in practice and make his results benefit the broadest masses."

I. D. Strashun, member of the U. S. S. R. Academy of Medical Sciences, delivered a report on *Louis Pasteur and Soviet Medicine*, in which he pointed out that thanks to Pasteur mankind obtained a powerful means of conquering infectious diseases. Since Pas-

teur's time it has become possible to apply prophylactic measures for saving the lives of scores and hundreds of thousands of people.

The Soviet state has created every prerequisite for the successful development of preventative medicine, and Soviet medicine has probably applied the fruits of Pasteur's work more extensively than has been done in any other country in the world.

Russia was the first country in which, after Paris, Pasteur laboratories were opened. The first two Pasteur laboratories in our country had an interesting history. The founder of the first laboratory, which was set up in Odessa, was N. F. Gamalea. It subsequently expanded into a large institute. The second Pasteur laboratory was set up in St. Petersburg and was the cradle of the Institute of Experimental Medicine.

On the eve of the October Revolution there were 30 Pasteur laboratories in Russia; today there are 425.

The foundation by Granger, a pupil of Pasteur, of the first institution in France for the protection of children's health, was directly inspired by Pasteur.

The Soviet Union has a vast network of children's institutions, nurseries, consultation centres, kindergartens.

Medicine is indebted to Calmette, a pupil of Pasteur's, for its progress in the matter of fighting tuberculosis. Even during the difficulties of wartime every third new-born infant in remote Buryat-Mongolia, in the republics of Central Asia and the mountain villages of the Caucasus was given an anti-tuberculosis injection in the maternity hospitals.

Like a true warrior for science, Pasteur pointed out the role of society and the state in the development of science. It was his cherished dream for the state to increase the



N. Gamalea Addresses VOKS Evening Held in Honor of Louis Pasteur

number of scientific institutions, and fill them with young people who burned with the sacred flame of scientific daring.

Soviet medicine has brought these dreams of the great scientist true. A Medical Institute that was given Pasteur's name was founded in Moscow in 1920, during the civil war. Professor Tarasevich, one of Mechnikov's best pupils and a frequent visitor to the Pasteur Institute in Paris, was appointed its director.

In place of the four scientific institutes and twelve university medical departments that there were in oldtime Russia, the U. S. S. R. had in 1941, i. e., on the eve of the war, 286 scientific institutions under the People's Commissariat of Health, among them 48 biological institutes and 72 medical schools

which employed up to 20,000 scientific workers. In 1941 there were approximately 4,000 post-graduate students studying in the medical universities and research institutions of the U. S. S. R.

Thanks to this development and the close ties between science and practice Soviet medicine was successfully able to protect the health of the Red Army and the population during the war.

B. Isachenko, corresponding member of the U. S. S. R. Academy of Sciences, made a report on the role played by Pasteur's work.

M. Charpentier, French Chargé d' Affaires in the U. S. S. R., made the concluding speech.

All those present then saw a film about Pasteur's life and work.



VOKS Evening Held in Honor of Jonathan Swift

JONATHAN SWIFT

(On the Bicentenary of His Death)

ON 25 OCTOBER the Literature Section of VOKS held a memorial meeting to commemorate the bicentenary of the death of the great English satirist, Jonathan Swift.

Vladimir S. Kemenov, President of VOKS, opened the meeting with the following words:

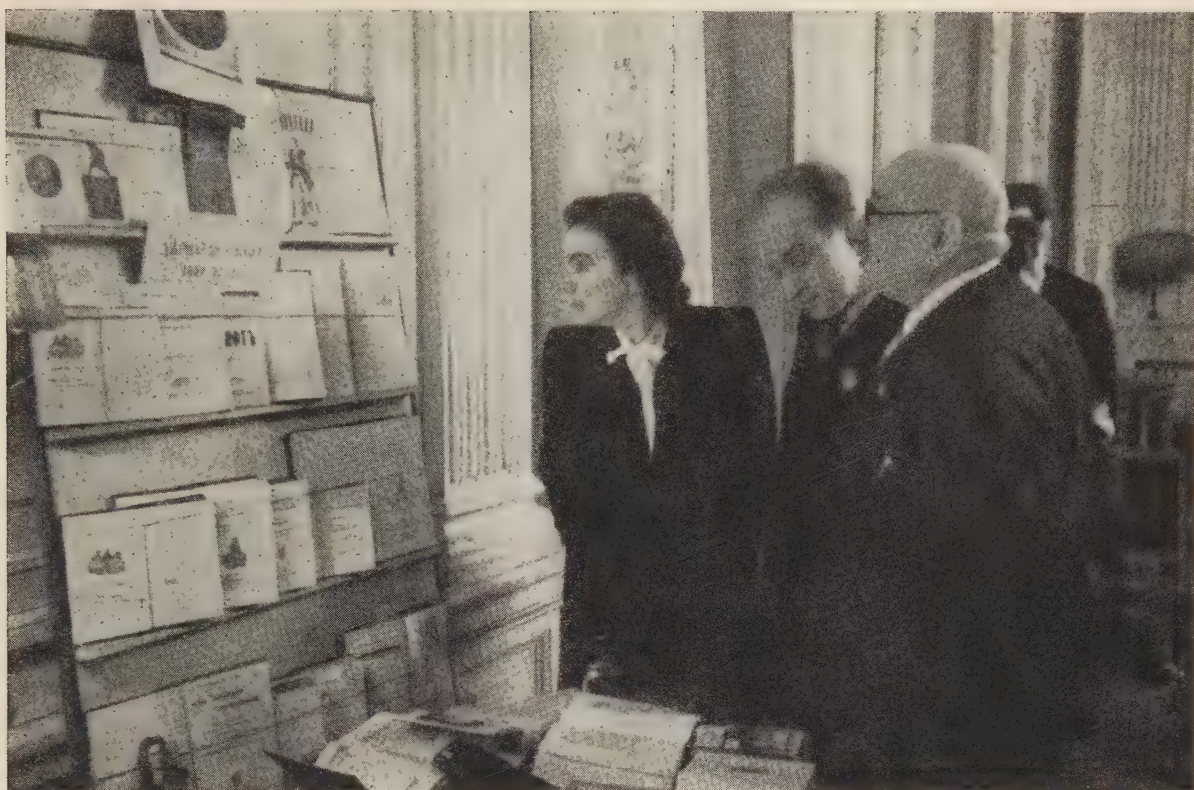
"Swift was too well understood and appreciated by the people and too dangerous for the hypocrites, scoundrels, fools and intriguers against whom he lifted his courageous voice in protest and accusation. It was the latter who, in defence and revenge, invented the legend of Swift's misanthropy.

"No, not hatred, but love for mankind was the wellspring that nourished Swift's talent and compelled him to observe the various vices of people with such pain and suffering, and

to write *The Tale of the Tub*, as he himself indicated in his subtitle, 'for the general improvement of the human race.' The monstrous crimes of fascism show how seriously the human race stands in need of improvement even in our day.

"Swift is a favourite author in the Soviet Union. From 1917 to 1945 his works had 98 printings and were translated into 38 languages of the peoples of the U. S. S. R. Swift's books have been published in the Soviet Union in a total number of 1,709,500 copies. May our meeting today be an expression, even though a trifling one, of our gratitude to and respect for this genius of the English people."

Professor A. K. Jivelegov then delivered a



Display of Russian Editions of Swift—to the left stands Ludmilla Tolstoi, Widow of the Late Alexei Tolstoi

report on the life and work of Jonathan Swift, in which he stressed that Soviet readers and literary scholars look upon Swift as a great humanist and champion of the rights of the people, and sweep aside the slander of the defenders of obscurantism who painted Swift as a misanthrope.

"Swift does not belong to his own time alone," said Professor Jivelegov. "He foresaw the future, and with the weapon of his satire scourged the vices of the society of his day in the name of that future. Swift the humanist belongs to our time as well as his own."

D. Zaslavsky spoke of Swift's influence upon the works of the great Russian satirists, especially the work of Saltykov-Schedrin. He emphasized the tremendous part that satire plays in our time.

Professor M. M. Morozov spoke about the

distinctive features of Swift's literary style and language.

A brilliant and clever translation of Swift's satirical message to the critics, read by the poet Samuel Marshak, was warmly applauded.

Mr. Roberts, the British Minister Plenipotentiary, addressed the meeting with a speech in which he expressed his pleasure in the extensive and deep knowledge that the Soviet people have of English literature. Mr. Roberts said that the cultural collaboration of the peoples of England and the U. S. S. R. will play an important role in the post-war world.

Mr. Philip Price, British M. P., also addressed the meeting.

The meeting was also attended by the members of the VOKS Literature Section, writers, actors, scholars, and representatives of the Soviet and foreign press.



At the Evening Held in Honor of the Polish Poet, Adam Mickiewicz. From left to right, Prof. Blagoi, Vladimir Kemenov, Lieutenant General Gundorov, Mr. Raabe, Polish Ambassador to the U. S. S. R. and Pianist Rosa Tamarkina

AN EVENING IN MEMORY OF ADAM MICKIEWICZ

AN EVENING to commemorate the 90th anniversary of the death of the great Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz was held in VOKS on 26 November. The evening was attended by members of the Polish Embassy headed by the Ambassador Mr. Heinrich Raabe, by men of letters and art and by representatives of the Polish and Soviet press.

V. S. Kemenov, President of VOKS, made a speech about Adam Mickiewicz, in which he said:

"Mickiewicz, like Pushkin, was a great Slav poet. His appeals and behests were always addressed to all the Slav people in whose unification and development he saw a powerful

force capable of protecting the cultural progress of mankind from the menace of German aggression.

"'Had the Germans been victorious over Jagiello,' said Mickiewicz, 'they would have flooded all the Slav lands with blood... The Crusaders would have stretched out their hands to the knights of the sword and extended their power from the Vistula to Riga and even to the outskirts of St. Petersburg.'

"With exceptional foresight Mickiewicz realized how great a force the Slav peoples could represent if they united in the common will to defend their human and national rights.



Mr. Raabe, Polish Ambassador to the U. S. S. R. Addresses the Audience

"Adam Mickiewicz' inspired, highly poetical works have long since become the property of all of cultured mankind: his works have been translated into numerous languages. Nine editions of Mickiewicz' works in a total of 105,000 copies have been published under the Soviet government. Russian literature may be proud of the fact that it has produced the greatest number of translations of the great Polish poet, that Russian translations of Mickiewicz appeared earlier than any other translations, and finally, of the fact that in our country Mickiewicz has been translated by our finest poets.

"Pushkin translated the beginning of the poem *Conrad Vallenrod*. In 1833 he likewise translated the two ballads *Voyevoda* and *Burdys and His Sons*. Among the other Russian poets who have translated Mickiewicz, we may mention Ryleyev, Lermontov, Ogarev, Fet, Bryusov and others. The finest Soviet poets

are continuing this tradition and are now working on translations of Mickiewicz' works.

"The Soviet people greatly honour this talented master of words, humanist and warrior, who sincerely dreamt 'of that coming day when the people, forgetting their differences, will unite in a single family.'

"Today Mickiewicz' behests have more import than ever before, being addressed more obviously than ever before to all the Slav peoples, to all of mankind, now striving for a peaceful, creative life."

Professor D. D. Blagoi, Ph. D., read a paper on *Mickiewicz in Russia*.

"The four and a half years that Mickiewicz spent in Russia," stated Prof. Blagoi, "constitute one of the most interesting and fruitful pages in the history of the relations between two cultures, two literatures: the Russian and the Polish.



At the Evening Held in Honor of Mickiewicz

"The prisoner of Russian autocracy was accorded the most enthusiastic and fraternal reception by progressive circles of Russian society, especially by Russian men of letters.

"Mickiewicz made close friends with the poet Ryleyev, who headed the Northern Society of the Decembrists, and with the Decembrist writer Alexander Bestuzhev; in Moscow he became particularly close friends with the Polevoi brothers, and was cordially welcomed into the circle of the Moscow romanticists: Venevitinov, Pogodin, Khomyakov and others.

"It was in a purely literary respect, however, that Mickiewicz did most for Russia, as Russia, in her turn, did for him.

"The latter part of the 1820's marked a remarkable flourishing of Russian poetry. From 1825 on, one chapter after another of *Eugene Onegin* appeared, and in 1826 Pushkin brought his *Boris Godunov* to Moscow. Side by side with him the poets Zhukovsky, Baratynsky, Griboyedov, Krylov, Yazykov and the so-called Pushkin Pleiades continued their

creative work. From 1827 until Mickiewicz left Russia in May 1829, both St. Petersburg and Moscow, led a highly intense literary life. Mickiewicz was a welcome guest in all literary circles and salons and an active and equal participant in all the most important literary events of these years.

"Mickiewicz was delighted at the active intellectual life and literary creativeness that he found in Russia; at the remarkable variety and breadth of literary and philosophical interests characteristic of the majority of Russian men of letters.

"It was precisely in Russia that Mickiewicz' poetry was most highly appreciated. Russian critics were the first to show a genuine understanding of Mickiewicz' significance as a great national Polish poet. In an article entitled *Review of Russian Literature* published in 1829, Kireyevsky wrote: 'Mickiewicz has concentrated the spirit of his people in himself. He has been the first to give Polish poetry the right to its own voice among those of Europe.'

"Both Mickiewicz and his Russian friends tried to broaden the friendly personal relations between Polish and Russian men of letters and to establish fraternal relations and cooperation between the two great Slav literatures. In his article on Mickiewicz' *Crimean Sonnets*, Prince P. A. Vyazemsky called upon Russians to study the Polish language and literature. Soon thereafter several articles about Polish literature appeared in the *Moscow Telegraph*. Russian translations of Mickiewicz' poems flooded Russian literature at this period.

"Of all his Russian friendships, the most significant and fruitful for Mickiewicz was his friendship with Pushkin. This was a true creative brotherhood between two geniuses, to whom all petty feelings of envy, competition and vanity were alike alien. It was that 'sincere union of two sons of harmony' of which Pushkin later spoke so inspiredly through the lips of his Mozart."¹

In conclusion Prof. Blagoi pointed out that

¹ *Mozart and Salieri*, a dramatic poem by Pushkin.

to those well known verses in which Pushkin makes mention of Mickiewicz, there should now be added a poem recently discovered among Pushkin's unfinished manuscripts. This poem represents an almost completed work of very high artistic value. Soviet literary critics have proven that the "far-sighted and winged poet" whom Pushkin mentions herein refers to Mickiewicz, author of the *Crimean Sonnets*.

Lieutenant General A. S. Gundorov, Chairman of the All-Slav Committee, related his reminiscences of his visit to Krakow and Mickiewicz' grave there. He stressed the fact that today Mickiewicz' appeals for the unification of the Slavs ring out with unabating force.

Mr. Raabe, Polish Ambassador to the U. S. S. R., also made a short speech. The poet N. Aseyev read a few excerpts from his translations of Mickiewicz' poems.

The evening was concluded with a concert dedicated to the memory of the great Polish poet.



At the Evening Held in Honor of Soviet Scientists Elected to Membership in the Rumanian Academy. Address of Mr. Jorgu Jordan, Rumanian Ambassador to the U. S. S. R. From left to right—S. I. Kavtaradze, Soviet Ambassador to Rumania, Vladimir Kemenov, Mr. Jordan, V. Parin and N. Tsytsyn

SOVIET SCIENTISTS ELECTED TO THE RUMANIAN ACADEMY

AT A JOINT MEETING of the VOKS Medical, Literature and Agricultural Sections held on 26 December, diplomas of honorary membership in the Rumanian Academy of Sciences were presented to the Soviet scientists N. V. Tsytsyn, A. M. Yegolin and V. V. Parin, who visited Rumania last spring as the VOKS delegates to the ARLUS¹ Congress.

The meeting was attended by Mr. Jorgu Jordan, Rumanian Ambassador to the U. S. S. R.; S. I. Kavtaradze, Soviet Ambassador to Rumania; S. A. Kolesnikov, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Union of the U. S. S. R. Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies; N. N. Priorov, Assistant People's Commissar of Public Health of the U. S. S. R.; Academician A. I. Abrikosov, Hero of Socialist Labour; members of the Rumanian Embassy in Moscow; Soviet writers and actors, and representatives of the Soviet and foreign press.

In his opening speech V. S. Kemenov, President of VOKS, outlined the scientific activities of each of the newly elected scientists as follows:

"N. V. Tsytsyn, Stalin Prize winner, member of the Academy of Sciences, Vice-President of the U. S. S. R. Academy of Agriculture, Director and organizer of the U. S. S. R. Agricultural Fair, and deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R., is known for his outstanding work both in remote hybridization and in the substitution of perennial for annual field crops.

"He has demonstrated the practical possibility of grafting herbaceous plants on to arboreal plants and the subsequent hybridization of herbaceous and arboreal plants, thus opening up broad prospects for the transformation of herbaceous plants into arboreal plants, and vice versa.

"In 1940 N. V. Tsytsyn was awarded the U. S. S. R. Agricultural Fair Gold Medal.

"In 1942 he won the Stalin Prize for his practical achievements in evolving spring and

winter varieties of wheat and couch grass-wheat hybrids.

"V. V. Parin, member of the U. S. S. R. Academy of Medical Sciences, Secretary of the Academy of Medicine, Vice-President of the VOKS Medical Section, is a noted Soviet physiologist who has published nearly 60 scientific works. These are chiefly devoted to a study of the cardio-vascular system and its automatic regulation. His major works: *Contraction of the Spleen when Sensory Nerves are Irritated* (1930), *The Effect of Local Temperature on Blood Circulation in Man* (1938) and *A Contribution to the Study of Reflex Regulation of the Blood Circulation*, have contributed much to the progress of Soviet medicine.

Alexander Mikhailovich Yegolin, member of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, well-known literary critic and educator, who has made a special study of the literary legacy of the famous Russian writers Pushkin, Nekrasov, Saltykov-Shchedrin, Leo Tolstoy and Maxim Gorky, has written and had published more than ninety works and magazine articles and approximately one hundred newspaper articles.

"His wartime articles, such as *Soviet Literature in Wartime*, *Herzen on Prussianism*, *Maxim Gorky, the Great Patriot and Warrior against Fascism*, and *The Greatness of Russian Literature*, were written with the object of revealing the patriotic value of the work of the great Russian writers and helped to mobilize the legacy of Russian classical literature for the struggle against fascism.

"The election of three Soviet scientists and scholars as honorary members of the Rumanian Academy testifies to the recognition by Rumanian scholars and scientists of the outstanding achievements of Soviet culture and science, and also to the strengthening of the cultural bonds between our peoples.

In presenting the diplomas to the Soviet scientists, Professor Jordan, Rumanian Ambassador to the U. S. S. R., addressed them with a speech in which he emphasized the great interest shown in Rumania towards Soviet science.

¹ ARLUS—Rumanian Society of Friends of the Soviet Union.



Address of N. Tsytyn

"The lively interest," he said, "and kind attention which the representatives of the Soviet intelligentsia show towards the cultural life of Rumania on the one hand, and the no less sincere interest which prompts my compatriots to seek for knowledge of the unusual achievements of your scientists, your writers, and your artists on the other, permit me to affirm that the spiritual bonds between our countries will develop henceforth under the most favourable conditions."

N. V. Tsytyn, V. V. Parin and A. M. Yegolin, each made a reply.

"We look upon the very fact of our election," stated Academician Tsytyn, "as a recognition of the prestige of Soviet science and a symbol of the growing friendship between our peoples. We are following the development of social life in Rumania with the greatest interest and sincerely rejoice at the achievements which further the progress and prosperity of the Rumanian people. We have recently learned of the formation of a national scientific research council under the Rumanian

government and have no doubt that this council will come to be of historical significance. The government, which from now on will base its activities on science, will not only be successful in the rehabilitation of its country on new democratic foundations, but will also create the conditions for an unprecedented efflorescence of social life and national economy."

"As a member of the Rumanian Academy," said Academician Yegolin, "I feel obliged to participate in the cultural development of Rumania. As a specialist in the history of Russian literature, I shall be able to assist in preparing for press and popularizing the works of Russian writers in Rumania."

"Russian literature is replete with democratic ideas and the spirit of the struggle for liberation. Its interest is ever identified with the interests of the people. The greatness of Russian literature lies in its active struggle against tsarist autocracy and for the freedom of the people. For Rumania, which has now entered upon the path of democratic development, the

dissemination of the works of those Russian writers who so splendidly depicted the countryside and the peasantry: Leo Tolstoy, Saltykov-Shchedrin, Nekrassov, Gleb Uspensky, is most desirable. Of the modern writers in this category, Sholokhov is perhaps the most outstanding.

"For our part we would very much like to have Russian translations of the works of the modern Rumanian writers: Mikhail Sadovyanu, Elena Farago."

Expressing his gratitude and appreciation of the honour shown him in electing him an honorary member of the Rumanian Academy of Sciences and the Rumanian Academy of Medicine, and the conferment upon him of the degree of Doctor of Medicine of the University of Bucharest, Professor Parin said:

"In accepting these honorary diplomas to-

day, I do not so much attribute these flattering tokens of attention to my own services in science, as to the high prestige which our Soviet science, and in particular our medical science, of which I am but a modest representative, has won in international circles.

"We are likewise highly appreciative of the honour shown us by the highest scientific institutions in Rumania because it is one more expression of that sincere desire for the cultural rapprochement of our peoples which we observed on the part of numerous representatives of the democratic Rumanian intelligentsia during our visit to Rumania. Soviet scientists are firmly convinced that the guarantee of the efflorescence of the peoples of our countries lies in peaceful cooperation in all branches of economic and cultural life."



V. Parin and Mr. Jordan at the Evening in Honor of Soviet Scientists Elected to the Rumanian Academy

NOTES ON THE FOURTEENTH U. S. S. R. CHESS CHAMPIONSHIP

By M. Botvinnik

THE ELIMINATION system in the semi-final tournaments always brought surprises, but this time there were too many. As a result, such first-class masters as V. Makogonov, G. Lisitsyn, V. Mikenas and G. Veresov could not participate in the battle for the U. S. S. R. chess title. It can also be regretted that Grandmaster G. Levenfish was prevented by his work from participating. In addition, Flohr had to discontinue after the third round because of illness.

The fourteenth Championship was a 25th anniversary tournament, since the first championship (Olympiad) took place in 1920. In addition, it was the first meet to be held in the joyous days of victory.

Great interest was manifested in the sporting side of the contest and therefore "prophets" were legion. Most of them foretold that the battle for the championship title would take place between V. Smyslov and the author of these lines, i. e., they predicted the repetition of that "duel" which took place in the 1944 U. S. S. R. Championship. Deep in my heart I scoffed at these prophecies, knowing that they gave too little credit to the other participants in the tournament, all of whom were skilled warriors with an excellent chance to gain the title. The struggle that began put the "prophets" in an awkward position.

At the start Grandmaster A. Kotov, Masters I. Boleslavsky and A. Konstantinopolsky, and I had approximately the same results. But after the first half of the tournament it became clear that Kotov and Konstantinopolsky could not contend for the title. In the 11th round I won the decisive game from Boleslavsky and energetically wound up by taking first place.

Second place was captured by Boleslavsky. Since in the preceding championship he was third, he has fulfilled the requirements for receiving the title of grandmaster. He fully deserves this honour. Despite his mere 25 years, Boleslavsky is a deep theoretician and a very skilful chess player. His style is universal, though he tends toward combination play. In any case, Soviet chess players have brought up a new A-I player, and we can only wish Grandmaster Boleslavsky further success.

A whole group of participants—Grandmasters I. Bondarevsky, A. Kotov, A. Lilienthal, K. Smyslov and Masters D. Bronstein, A. Konstantinopolsky, V. Ragozin, I. Rudakovsky and V. Chekhover emerged with approximately equal results. The distribution of places

among them was determined chiefly in the last round. As a result Bronstein, who is only 21 years old, forged ahead to third place. For this it was necessary that in the last round Bronstein should win his game, while Kotov and Konstantinopolsky lose theirs, and Ragozin and Rudakovsky should not win. This was rather a tough order to fill, but, strange as it may seem, it was exactly what happened. Bronstein is a very capable master and shows great possibility of further development.

Smyslov's failure should be explained. It seems to me that he entered the tournament with the wrong point of view, largely the fault of the "prophets." He considered that he should be first as a matter of course. But chess is a struggle, especially in the U. S. S. R. championship tournaments. One has to prepare himself well for the battle, while Smyslov, to our regret, failed to do so. Furthermore, he simply was in bad form. It is to be expected that Smyslov will soon get back into trim.

Mention should also be made of Honoured Master P. Romanovsky, the sole participant in this tournament who also took part in the first U. S. S. R. championship (Olympiad).

A few words about myself. My success was determined by two factors: firstly, thorough preparation, and secondly, tournament luck.

The tournament produced much of interest, especially concerning the theory of the opening. It aroused great interest and, it should be assumed, provided good training for all the participants.

QUEEN'S GAMBIT

Notes by M. BOTVINNIK

A. Lilienthal M. Botvinnik
(White) (Black)

- | | |
|-----------|-------|
| 1. P—Q4 | P—Q4 |
| 2. P—QB4 | P—K3 |
| 3. Kt—QB3 | P—QB3 |
| 4. Kt—B3 | Kt—B3 |
| 5. P×P | ... |

In our previous encounters Lilienthal played in the given position 5. P—K3, and also 5. B—Kt5. This time he decided to play the opening in the spirit of the Karlsbad Variation.

SCORE TABLE

Participants	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Score
1. Botvinnik	—	1	1/2	1	1	1/2	1	1/2	1	1	1	1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	15
2. Boleslavsky	0	—	1/2	1	1/2	1	1/2	0	1	1	1	1/2	1	1/2	1	1/2	1	1	12
3. Bronstein	1/2	1/2	—	0	1/2	0	1/2	0	1	1/2	1/2	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	10
4. Bondarevsky	0	0	1	—	1/2	0	1/2	1	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1	1/2	1	1/2	1	1/2	9 1/2
5. Konstantinopol'ky	0	1/2	1/2	1/2	—	1/2	0	1/2	0	1/2	1	1	1	1/2	1/2	1	1/2	1	9 1/2
6. Kotov	1/2	0	1	1	1/2	—	0	1	0	1/2	1	1/2	0	1/2	1	1/2	1/2	1	9 1/2
7. Lilienthal	0	1/2	1/2	1/2	1	1	—	1	0	0	1/2	0	1	1	1/2	1	0	1/2	9
8. Ragozin	1/2	1	1	0	1/2	0	0	—	0	1/2	1	1	0	0	1	1/2	1	1	9
9. Rudakovsky	0	0	0	1/2	1	1	1	1	—	1/2	0	1/2	1	0	1/2	0	1	1	9
10. Chekhover	0	0	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1	1/2	1/2	—	1	1/2	0	1/2	1	1/2	1	0	8 1/2
11. Smyslov	0	0	1/2	1/2	0	0	1/2	0	1	0	—	1/2	1	1/2	1	1	1	1	8 1/2
12. Alatortsev	1/2	1/2	0	1/2	0	1/2	1	0	1/2	1/2	1/2	—	1	0	0	1	1/2	1/2	7 1/2
13. Tolush	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	—	1	1/2	1	0	1	7 1/2
14. Koblents	0	1/2	0	1/2	1/2	1/2	0	1	1	1/2	1/2	1	0	—	0	1/2	1/2	0	7
15. Romanovsky	0	0	0	0	1/2	0	1/2	0	1/2	0	0	1	1/2	1	—	1	1	1/2	6 1/2
16. Ratner	0	1/2	0	1/2	0	1/2	0	1/2	1	1/2	0	0	0	1/2	0	—	1	1	6
17. Kan	0	0	0	0	1/2	1/2	1	0	0	0	0	1/2	1	1/2	0	0	—	1	5
18. Goldberg	0	0	0	1/2	0	0	1/2	0	0	1	0	1/2	0	1	1/2	0	0	—	4
19. Flohr	0	—	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	dropped out

5. KP×P
6. B—Kt5 P—KP3
7. B×Kt

There is little ground for such a decision. If White did not want to retreat with his Bishop to R4, 7. B—B4 would be entirely acceptable. Now, however, Black possessing two good Bishops, can boldly face the future.

7. Q×B
8. Q—Kt3 B—Q3!

After this move it is clear that White has no advantage. His only possibility to show some activity lies in P—K4. But in that case after 9. P—K4 P×P 10. Kt×P Q—K2 11. 0-0-0 B—B4ch the white king cannot retreat in view of 12. . . . Q×Ktch; he has to cover up with his Knight and White does not stand better.

9. P—K3 Kt—Q2
10. B—Q3 Q—K2

Necessary. The Knight would stand best on KB3 (the K5 square!), while the Queen will protect the QKt—Pawn, after which the development of the Q—Bishop will become possible.

11. 0-0-0 Kt—B3
12. KR—K1 B—K3

It was not easy to find here the correct line of play. As a rule it is not good in such positions to allow the adverse Knight to fortify himself on White's K5 square, and therefore the following seems more natural:

12. . . . 0-0 or 12. . . . Kt—K5. But in the case of 12. . . . 0-0 13. P—KR3! White has fair chances for an attack, while after 12. . . . Kt—K5 13. B×Kt P×B 14. Kt—Q2 B—KKt5 15. P—B3 P×P. 16. P×P B—K3 17. P—Q5 White has better chances to develop than Black.

13. Q—B2 0-0-0
14. Kt—K5

A self-evident, but entirely incorrect plan. The Knight on K5 will be left out in the cold. In all fairness it must be noted that this was not easy to foresee!

14. K—Kt1
15. P—B4

One must go whole hog. But, in general, what is White to do? . . . The move recommended by G. Lisitsyn (*Fourteenth U. S. S. R. Chess Championship*, special edition No. 7) 15. Kt—R4 with the aim of preventing P—QB4, is based on a misunderstanding, since after 15. Kt—R4 B×Kt 16. P×B Kt—Kt5 17. P—B4 Kt×RP White remains minus a Pawn.

15. P—B4

It is due just to the position of the adverse Knight on K5 that this move is especially good, since on 16. P×P comes 16. . . . B×Kt 17. P×B Kt—Q2 18. Kt—Kt5 R—QB1. White cannot possibly place his Knight on Q4, for instance 16. Kt—Kt5 P—B5! 17. Q—R4 P—R3 18. Kt×B P×B

16. K—Kt1 P—B5
17. B—B5

Many masters criticized Lilienthal for this move and recommended 17. B—K2. Probably this would be worse, for after 17. B—K2 P—KKt3! 18. P—KKt4 P—KR4 19. P—KR3 P×P 20. P×P R—R7 White would have very difficult playing

17. B×B
18. Q×B B—Kt5
19. Q—B2 R—Q3

A mistake would have been 19. . . . Kt—K5 because of 20. Kt×QP! R×Kt 21. Q×Kt R(R)—Q1 (21. . . . Q—K3 22. P—B5) 22. R—K2 P—B3 23. P—QR3.

20. R--K2 B×Kt

Now strategically the game is won for Black, since White's K4 square is irreparably weakened.

White will have to take measures for exchanging his "proud" Knight on K5 for the opposing one. But alas, as it becomes clear from the subsequent, he does not succeed in this...

21. P×B

After 21. Q×B Black wins by a pawn offensive on the Q-side. Now, however, he obtains victory by means of pressure with the pieces, since the adverse QB-Pawn cannot be defended.

21. . . . Kt-K5

22. K-R1 R-R3

23. Q-B1

Let us imagine that the Black K-Rook stands on QKt3. Then Black would have won quickly by 23 ... P-B3 24. Kt-B3 Q-R6 25. R-QB2 (25. Q×Q R×Q 25. R-QB1 R(Kt)-Kt6) 25 ... Kt×P. Thus it is clear that the K-Rook should be shifted to QKt3.

This could have been carried out most exactly by 23 ... P-R4 followed by R (1) -R3-QKt3. The applied continuation is also sufficient for victory.

23. . . . R-Q1

24. R-QB2 R(Q)-Q3

25. Kt-Kt4

An "heroic" attempt to exchange Knights. Also loses: 25. Kt-B3 R-KKt3 26. R-K1 R-R6 27. R(K)-

K2 R(Kt)-R3 (28. Kt-Q2 Kt×P), and the transference of the Queen to QR4 decides the battle.

25. . . . R-KKt3

26. P-KR3 P-R4

27. Kt-K5

This is equivalent to capitulation!

27. . . . R(Kt)-Kt3

28. Kt-B3 Q-R6!

See note to White's 23rd move.

29. Kt-Kt5

In the case of 29. Kt-K5 Kt×P. 30. Q×Q R×Q 31. Kt-Q7ch K-B2 32. Kt×R Kt×R 33. Kt×Pch K-Q3 34. P-K4 Kt-K6! 35. Kt×Kt R×Kt 36. R×P R×KP the end game is entirely hopeless for White.

29. . . . Kt×P

30. Q×Q R×Q

31. R(Q)-QB1 Kt-Kt4

32. Kt×P R×P

33. Kt-K5 K-B2

34. P-Kt4 Kt×P

35. R-Q2 Kt×K7

36. R-K1 Kt×B6

37. R(K)-QB1

White resigned without waiting for his adversary's return move.

INTRODUCING THE PLAYERS WHO WON THE U. S. S. R.—U. S. A. RADIO-CHESS MATCH

SEPTEMBER 1 to 4, 1945

THE RADIO chess match played between the U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. was sensational in so far as the defeat meted out to the Americans by the Russians surpassed all expectations, including those of the Soviet players themselves. Pre-war encounters with American players had given the Russians no grounds to anticipate the walk-away which the score of the radio match (1542 to 442) indicates.

The explanation for the overwhelming victory of the Soviet team lies partly in the fact that during the four long years of war Russian zeal in perfecting the game did not slacken. During this period great progress was made in the art of opening, as testified by almost every game during the radio match. Interrupted communications prevented the rest of the world from keeping up with the latest developments in Soviet chess. The radio match was a startling revelation of just how far these developments had gone.

Another explanation of the skill displayed by the Russians lies in the scale on which chess is played in the Soviet Union. Soviet grandmasters are selected from an army of players numbering millions. The "standing army," composed of only those whose skill has been recognized, comprises 8 grandmasters, 50 masters, nearly four hundred players of first category and about a million players falling into the remaining four official categories. Outside of this army of distinguished players there exist many million chess fans who have not yet won admission into any category.

This fact makes it easy to imagine the extensive interest which the U. S. S. R.—U. S. A. radio match aroused in the Soviet Union. From the Baltic to the Pacific, from the Arctic to the Black Sea, all those millions whose blood warms at the sight of a chess board eagerly awaited the results of the American-



Group of participants in the U. S. S. R.—U. S. A. Radio Chess Match (left to right, sitting): Kotov, Smyslov, Botvinnik, Ragozin, Bondarevsky, Flohr; (standing): Boleslavsky, Zagorsky (Radio commentator)

Soviet competition. In Moscow, actual playing took place in a private hall of the Central House of Workers in Art. In another building, the Central Club of Railway Workers, an audience of 1200 fans sat before giant chess boards on which the plays were demonstrated as made, and commented on by Eugene Zagoryansky and Mikhail Yudovich. Although the match began at 5 P. M. (Moscow time) and continued throughout the night, ending only at 7 A. M., hundreds of the original audience were still in the hall when everything was over.

Here, then, are the members of the Soviet team:

MIKHAIL BOTVINNIK. Botvinnik is the dean of Soviet chess. He has been the absolute champion of the U. S. S. R. since 1931, with the exception of six months in 1940 when he let Lillienthal and Bondarevsky take the title away from him.

Botvinnik is now 34 years old, a young man as serious of mien as of manner, but possessing a dry sense of humour. "Not often," said he in commenting on the match with America, "do those on trial torture their judges, yet that was what the all-night vigil of our judges amounted to."

By profession Botvinnik is an electrical engineer. In 1937 he received his Master's Degree, for which he wrote a dissertation on the theme, *Static Stability of a Synchronized Machine*. He is at present working on problems of insulation for the People's Commissariat of Electric Power Stations.

In 1927, when he was 16 years old, Botvinnik won the chess title of master, and in 1935 the title of grand-master.

Before an important game, Botvinnik becomes even more calm than usual. His playing is always rhythmic and unhurried, and during most responsible games assumes a ceremonial legato.

Botvinnik's fame as a chess player extends far beyond the borders of his native land. In 1936 he played in Nottingham, England, at which time he shared first and second places with Capablanca. He was the only participant of that tournament who emerged without a single defeat, Capablanca having lost a game to Flohr. Chess clubs in England and Holland bear his name. In 1937 the Soviet Government awarded him the Order of "The Badge of Honor" for his distinguished playing.

But neither chess nor engineering absorb all of Botvinnik's life. His wife, a ballet dancer of the Moscow Bolshoi Theatre, draws him into the world of theatre art, while his three-year-old daughter has her own claims to make on his time and attention.

In addition to which Botvinnik bears the responsibilities devolving upon a member of the Communist Party.

*

VASILII SMYSLOV. Like most child prodigies, it is difficult for Smyslov to throw off the reputation of being a juvenile, though he is now 24 years old. He

began playing chess at the age of six and a half, and at 21 was the youngest player in the world to receive the title of grandmaster.

It is as much Smyslov's character as his history which keeps people thinking of him as under age. He is a tall, shy lad with fiery red hair, and though his chess playing has won him international fame, he retains the naivete of unspoiled boyhood. He is still a student—a senior at the Moscow Aviation Institute where he is a member of the young Communist League.

Perhaps his American opponent Reshevsky was taken in by his apparent immaturity. In 1939 Reshevsky played with Smyslov in Moscow. At that time Vasilii was indeed an infant, and Reshevsky had little difficulty in beating him. But during the intervening years Smyslov grew into a grandmaster whose playing is most distinguished by skill in tactics. Rarely does he fail to take advantage of a tactical possibility. His advance in the game is built up on a solid foundation of theoretical knowledge, and chance played no part in his double victory over Reshevsky in this radio match.

*

ISAAK BOESLAVSKY. Boleslavsky is a Ukrainian who came to fame as the chess champion of his native republic. He is a graduate of the literature department of the Dnepropetrovsk University and possesses the character of a day-dreaming student or philosopher. Boleslavsky has been described by Russians as seeming "ni ot mira sevo," which means "not of this world." His friends complain that he can expound a chess problem to them for half an hour without having the slightest idea of whom he is addressing.

At the age of 18 Boleslavsky won the title of master, and since then he can boast a consistent and uninterrupted crescendo of success. In the 12th U. S. S. R. Championship Tournament he came out sixth; in the 13th he came out third; in the 14th he came out second, giving place only to Botvinnik. He is an outstanding student of the opening, as well as an excellent tactician. His end game is weaker.

*

SALO FLOHR. Sometime toward the end of World War I the family of Salo Flohr left the Western Ukraine where he was born and went to live in Czechoslovakia. But in 1917-1918 both his mother and father died, and from the age of 16 Salo had to earn his own living. After graduating from a Prague Gymnasium (secondary School), he became a journalist.

At the same time he was distinguishing himself as a chess player. In 1937 he was put forward by the Fédération Internationale des Echecs as a candidate for the title of world's champion. In 1935 he came to Moscow to participate in a tournament, married a Russian girl, and thereafter made frequent and prolonged visits to the Soviet Union. In 1940 he applied for Soviet citizenship which was granted in 1942.

In 1943 he won the title of grandmaster of the U. S. S. R.

*

ALEXANDER KOTOV. The city of Tula is as famous for its arms factories as Pittsburg for its steel mills. It was into the family of a worker in one of these

factories that Alexander Kotov was born in 1913. In Tula Alexander finished the secondary school and the Tula Industrial Institute, from which he graduated as a mechanical engineer. He followed in his father's footsteps by entering the factory as soon as he received his degree.

During the war Kotov became head of a construction bureau working on the design of a new type of mortar gun. The design was accepted by the Red Army, and for his outstanding contribution Kotov was awarded the Order of Lenin in 1944. At present, Kotov, who is a member of the Communist Party, is engaged in research work as a post-graduate of the Bauman Institute of Technology in Moscow.

In contrast to Boleslavsky, Kotov's chess record is as fluctuating "as the fever chart of a typhoid patient," as a doctor admirer expressed it. In the 11th U. S. S. R. Championship Tournament he came in second, while in the 12th, one year later, he came in seventeenth.

For his playing in the 11th he won the title of grandmaster.

*

IGOR BONDAREVSKY. Thirty-two years ago, Bondarevsky was born into the family of a doctor in Rostov. There he lived all his life. There he graduated as an engineer from the Rostov Building Institute. There he lived with his wife and two children when the Germans occupied Rostov. In order to hide his professional training lest he be forced to use it to the advantage of the Germans, he worked as a simple laborer in a ware-house. His camouflage required concealing his chess history as well, so for the two years of the occupation he played not a single game.

Bondarevsky has a striking, effective style of playing which has won him many prizes for the most beautiful game.

It was he who, with Lilienthal, took the U. S. S. R. championship title away from Botvinnik for a few months in 1940.

*

ANDREI LILIENTHAL. Lilienthal was born in Moscow in 1911, but his family, like the family of Flohr, emigrated from Russia during World War I. He spent a difficult childhood in Budapest where it was impossible for him to complete even the secondary school. At an early age he was apprenticed to a tailor and at the same time became interested in chess. When 15 years old he was accepted into the tailor's guild, but since in that very year he won the title of master, he left his trade to become a professional chess player.

In 1935 Lilienthal came to Moscow to participate in a chess tournament and has lived here ever since. He has married a Russian girl and in 1936 was granted Soviet citizenship.

Lilienthal is always a favorite during a tournament. He is good looking, always smartly dressed, and sits over the chess board like a volcano engulfed in a cloud of smoke. In the course of an evening Lilienthal will smoke five packs of cigarettes lighted from a single match. Perhaps he uses the smoke as protective covering from his many admirers, or perhaps he uses the nicotine to stimulate that keen judgement of critical situations and ability to make combinations which are so characteristic of his playing.

The outstanding success he achieved in the 1940 U. S. S. R. Championship Tournament won him the title of grandmaster of the U. S. S. R.

*

VYACHISLAV RAGOZIN. The heroic defence of Leningrad has made it a mark of honor to be a citizen of that city. Ragozin has a right to claim this honor, not so much because he was born and spent most of his life in Leningrad, but because he was one of the defenders of the city during the blockade. As a lieutenant in the Red Army, Ragozin served on the Leningrad front. He, like his comrades, suffered acutely from starvation, but he was placed in the hospital in time to fully recover. Later he was sent to Moscow where he became adjutant to the Commandant of the Soviet capital.

Ragozin's father was a simple worker in St. Petersburg, and Ragozin himself got his start in life working in a bakery. But he continued his education, finally graduating from the Leningrad Institute of Industrial Building. At present he is employed in Moscow by the People's Commissariat of the Building industry.

Ragozin has participated in many international matches. In such matches prizes are always offered to the foreigner who beats the most Russians and to the Russian who beats the most foreigners. The latter prize seems to be Ragozin's speciality, for it usually goes to him.

Ragozin shows great originality in solving strategic problems, but often seems uncertain of himself in simple positions. His results are fluctuating.

*

VLADIMIR MAKAGONOV. Makagonov is the most venerable of the Soviet participants in the U. S. S. R.—U. S. A. radio chess match, having already reached

the ripe age of forty-two. He has spent all his life in the Caucasus and has devoted much effort to the advancement of chess in his native regions. Makagonov's father was of peasant stock, but he left the soil to work in the oil fields of Baku. Vladimir Makagonov graduated from the Baku University as a major in physics and mathematics, and to this day he is a teacher of mathematics in Baku, where he has been elected deputy to the City Council.

Makagonov has played chess from early childhood and won the title of master in 1927, the same year in which Botvinnik won it. He has consistently participated in the U. S. S. R. Championship Tournaments, always coming out among the first. Though it is possible to get a draw in playing with Makagonov, it is almost impossible to get a game from him, and for this reason he has been nick-named "iron-and-concrete Makagonov." He is a bold and original strategist whose playing suggests that of Rubenstein.

*

DAVID BRONSTEIN. They call him "Baby Bronstein." But in spite of his total of twenty years, he is no baby in chess. He began playing at an early age and when only 15 years old had already won the title of master.

Born in Belaya Tserkov, in the Ukraine, his family later moved to Kiev where he finished secondary school. During the war years of 1941-1942 Bronstein served in evacuation hospitals in the Ukraine. In 1943 he went to help with the rehabilitation of Stalingrad, where he now works and studies.

David Bronstein began his career as a chess player in the club of the Kiev Palace of Pioneers. In 1940 he won second place in the tournament for the championship of the Ukraine. Although he did not achieve one of the first places in the 13th U. S. S. R. Championship Tournament in 1944, he revealed a manysided and promising talent.

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